

A THERAPEUTIC DOLL PLAY PROGRAM WITH
AN EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILD

APPROVED BY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Although the application of doll play in child therapy has had extensive coverage in the clinical literature, its potential use in research has yet to be tapped. In large part this has been due to the expected longevity of such studies, and to the resistance of many therapists to apply investigative procedures in the course of therapy, particularly with a prearranged system that did not consider the potential of each patient for new learning.

Comparisons Between Real Life and Fantasy Play

The evidence for comparing real life with fantasy behavior has been generally favorable. Hollenberg (1949) and Hollenberg and Sperry (1951) found that children who were severely punished at home projected higher fantasy aggression in doll play than did less severely punished children. Holway (1949) found a positive relationship between realistic doll play and the amount of early self-regulation in feeding and the number of months the child was breast fed. Miller and Baruch (1950) and Henry and Henry (1944) observed that various types of aggression and sibling rivalry were congruent

between doll play and real life. A comparison of overt and doll play aggression has shown that boys displayed more frequency and intensity of fantasy aggression than girls (e.g., Bach, 1946; Pintler, Phillips and Sears, 1946; Robinson, 1946; Sears, Pintler and Sears, 1946), which was in accord with observations made of overt behavior.

Although certain parallels exist between the content of play and of real life, a one-to-one relationship does not prevail for all aspects of doll play. The similarities to be found were of a broad nature as shared with the characteristics of projective techniques (Cohn, 1962; Levin and Wardell, 1962). Children's play has been found to differ widely in the ways in "which it observes, or oversteps, the bounds of realism" (Moore and Ucko, 1961, p. 21). Levels of impersonation vary, as partial or total identification with the self and family members fulfill different functions under different conditions. According to Moore (1964), the diagnostic value of doll play does not lie so much in relating it to real life, as in detecting areas of conflict and observing how the child is meeting it in relation to the doll characters and events portrayed. (For further discussion, see Moore, 1964.)

Session-to-Session Effects

Turning now to the measurement of certain behavioral changes in doll play from session-to-session, Jeffre (1946) reported, over a span of four sessions, that aggression toward the E and the equipment increased, which was likely a reflection of increasing boredom with the doll play task. Scott (1954) found that institutionalized children indulged in less stereotyped (sanctioned) play than did children living at home. Using three

sessions, Pintler (1945) reported that more doll play aggression and earlier appearance of aggression occurred under high experimenter-child interaction than under low experimenter-child interaction. Since Pintler used only preschool subjects, there were subsequent indications that her high interaction levels were not as satisfactory for fantasy expression with older children (Johnson, 1951; Simkins, 1948). Under varying stimulus conditions for increasing and decreasing aggressive-responding, Parton (1964) reported that significant treatment effects were mediated by the prior histories of the Ss.

In a study that has general application to doll play effects, Davison (1964) applied conditioning therapy with a nine-year-old autistic girl. Therapists tried not to reinforce the S's defiance by ignoring disobedient acts. At the end of the program, she stopped some of her anti-social actions, payed more attention to the therapists, and was more responsive to adults in general, though she was by no means "normal".

Possible exceptions to the effectiveness of doll play with certain kinds of children were noted by Moore (1964), who described two such examples. First, there is the child who plays banally and routinely with dolls and can not become involved or venture into fantasy with them. Then there is the child, flooded with galloping destructive affect, who frequently must be stopped by someone else, as he can not control his own actions.

The present investigation attempted to apply research procedures to the application of doll play in promoting ameliorative behavior by (1) collecting and analyzing doll play data over a prolonged period (two years and nine months), and (2) by relying on the E's flexibility (at some

expense to scientific control) in discerning when a child was ready to assimilate new experiences. This study, involving a single case of a severely disturbed boy, was based on the following three different, though not unrelated, assumptions:

1. That the experimental investigation of a single case may have general application of importance, both to the subject himself, and to the understanding of many other subjects (Shapiro and Nelson, 1955).

2. That seriously disturbed children require a flexible approach in therapy, geared to repairing as far as possible their unmet developmental needs, and to promoting progressive development through educational and interpretive means (Garcia and Sarvis, 1964). Although the therapist may at times "converse" with the child in his world of imagination, fundamentally, he should remain as "an adult with all his responses rooted in reality" (Gondor, 1957, p. 326), at times intervening to correct the child's misconceptions of reality.

3. That doll play has the necessary qualities to produce fantasy material (under permissive, noncritical conditions) (Ammons, 1953; Levin and Turgeon, 1957), allowing the child "to create a miniature world in which his own motives, thoughts, and emotions can dictate what actually will occur" (Cohn, 1962, p. 241; e.g., McNeil, 1959; Sears, 1951). Accordantly, Beiser (1955) found the doll family, among all other toys, to be the most popular and the best fantasy catalyst, with one hundred consecutive children applying to a mental health clinic.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Introduction

The studies reviewed in Chapter I provided no direct experimental evidence for the application of doll play in a therapeutic or quasi-therapeutic setting. The task of the present study was to investigate the potential usefulness of a doll play program in promoting positive behavioral modifications.

Statement of the Problem

This study applied the single case method to an investigation of the effects of intermittent doll stories between therapist and an emotionally disturbed child, where the therapist's stories followed the theme of the child's, but in addition, were structured to broaden the possibilities for solutions to conflicts as they originated in the child's stories. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to examine the extent, kind, and direction of aggression, and the extent and direction of solutions to conflicts under the experimental conditions. In addition, an elaborated case presentation of contacts with individual family members is presented in the Appendix as a complement to the experimental study, in an attempt to give substance to the variety and unique content, which was omitted in the investigation of quantitative measures of behavior.

Hypotheses

Seven hypotheses were formulated with respect to the content of the S's doll stories over a period of two years and nine months. The hypotheses, which were not in most cases mutually exclusive, follow:

1. A decreasing trend in the frequency of total aggression should accompany an increasing trend in the frequency of total nonaggression.

2. A decreasing trend in the frequency of nonstereotyped aggression should accompany an increasing trend in the frequency of stereotyped aggression.

3. An increasing trend in the frequency of solutions should move in the direction of equivalence with the frequency of aggression.

4. A decreasing trend in the frequency of solutions to aggression where a child is not the agent should accompany an increasing trend in the frequency of solutions to aggression where a child is the agent.

5. A trend from decrease to equivalence in the frequency of maternal-involved aggression should accompany a corresponding trend from increase to equivalence in the frequency of maternal-involved nonaggression.

6. A decreasing trend in the frequency of paternal-involved aggression should accompany an increasing trend in the frequency of paternal-involved nonaggression.

7. A decreasing trend in the frequency of "therapist"-involved aggression should accompany an increasing trend in the frequency of "therapist"-involved nonaggression.

Experimental Design

Materials

The experimental materials consisted of miniature dolls, furniture, eating utensils, and a real sink.

There were six easily identifiable doll-characters: mother, father, boy, girl, and two babies. A seventh, the "therapist" doll, was identified at different times as "uncle," "doctor," and as a second "father". The furniture was made of wood to the scale of one inch to a foot and was proportional to the size of the dolls used. The furniture consisted of an oblong dining room table, five chairs, a toilet, a tub, and a crib. The plastic eating utensils were also made to scale. They consisted of a set of seven dinner plates, small plates, platter, water pitcher, forks, spoons, and knives. None of the pieces was stationary, so there was opportunity for rearrangement and organization. The dolls were made of plastic around a pipe-cleaner base, and were dressed in unremovable, colorful cotton clothes. The hair was made of fibre. The adult male dolls were 6 inches in height; the adult female, 5½ inches; the boy and girl, 3½ inches; and the babies (whose sex was indeterminate) were respectively 1½ inches and 1¼ inches. The dolls were lifelike in appearance and were dressed in realistic clothing. Because of the pipe-cleaner base, they were light and easy for the child to handle and manipulate. They could be bent to sit, lie down, stand, hold one another, wave good-bye, or make a fist for hitting. The dolls' faces were designed to have blank, emotionless expressions.

Doll Play Procedure

The doll play procedure was carried out at a community mental health clinic in conjunction with the treatment of S. In the first session S was introduced to the doll material along with other standard play equipment (such as clay, paints, and simple board games), all of which were housed in a cabinet within easy reach. S was invited to look over the material and to play with whatever he wished. E carefully avoided suggesting the use of the dolls. If S left the doll play situation, E did not attempt to bring his attention back.

S first used the doll material as a storytelling device in session 30, and continued to do so over a span of two years and nine months (from session 30 through session 143), for the greater or lesser part of 29 sessions.¹ Sessions were 45 minutes in length. (S was seen a total of 154 weekly therapy and doll play sessions - except during summer vacations - over three and one-half years, from the age of six years and eight months to ten years and two months.)

Of the 29 doll play sessions, the first 12 sessions represented the control situation, the following 17 sessions, the experimental situation. Under control conditions E was relatively inactive, except in a few instances where it was felt that an excessive release of bizarre fantasies might tip the balance in a dangerous direction. In such cases, S was either detracted to more constructive and reward-giving activity or E

¹Sessions 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 40, 43, 51, 56, 58, 62, 73, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 102, 117, 118, 119, 132, 136, 140, 143.

interjected helpful comments through the dolls. For example, in session 51, after having the family "killed," S dies, and his body is dismembered. At such a point E thought it necessary to intervene, by stating through the doll characters that they wanted to be his friend.

Under the experimental situation, S and then E told fantasy-stories with the dolls. Each time S told a story, E's story that followed would hold to S's theme, but in addition, would broaden the possibilities for solution to conflicts as originated in S's stories. The direction of E's stories was based on his discernment of S's readiness to integrate new learning. A fixed schedule was avoided, as being out of keeping with S's inconstant and emerging needs.

As S played with the dolls on a spacious cabinet surface adjacent to a sink, E stood by and wrote a verbatim style report of his doll activity. On a few occasions, the rapid pace of events necessitated the recording of additional observational data immediately following a session.

Subject and Parents

S was brought to the clinic by his parents when he was six years and eight months old, because they were finding it increasingly difficult to cope with his argumentative and demanding behavior, and with certain compulsive rituals which he insisted his mother share with him. They were also concerned that he showed an almost total disinterest in his father, and a fear of being touched by him.

Both parents were American-born of mid-eastern European extraction, and were reared in a lower-middle-class family in the same large urban community. They owned a modest home within city limits, situated in a less

populated but growing area. Both parents were rigid people, but the mother seemed to be the primary focus of S's difficulties. At the age of forty, she appeared too old and ponderous for her years. Absorbed with her home and duties to her own mother, she was a cold and rejecting mother whose love for her son was greatly minimized as he came out of babyhood. Aware of strong negative feelings toward her son, to a point of wanting to be rid of him, she was at the same time absorbed with grave misgivings about such feelings. In contrast to her stormy relationship with her son, her initial description, shared by her husband, of married life was almost too ideal, with arguments hardly ever reported between them.

The father, a 43-year-old salesman, was more casual-appearing than his wife. However, his casualness seemed in large part a function of his lack of involvement with his son - except when the boy upset his wife. He had been appealing to the boy's reason and sense of fairness to behave better, but until his visit to the clinic, had hit his son often.

An only child, S was born after several miscarriages. A second child, following S, died a few weeks after birth. S was described as "strange since birth," having screamed a great deal and slept poorly. As S grew older, he was said to be very anxious and demanding of attention from his mother. S was found to be functioning within an average range of intelligence (I.Q., 101), with suggestions that a wide gap existed between a lowered performance and a considerably higher potential.

E's early impression of the boy was one of utter lack of spontaneity, much as a toy that needs constant winding. He spoke in a singsongy, whining monotone, and his expressions and actions had a dreamlike and mechanical quality.

The boy's relationship with his mother appeared to be rife with ambivalent feelings. On one hand, he was dependent on her to a point where his general behavior was conspicuously imitative of others and lacking in initiative. On the other hand, he was engaged in a fierce struggle with her to break their bonds of mutuality (and to demand unrequited love), though not without great fear of his aggressive wishes, and in losing the one prop he had come to depend on for his internal and external stability.

Therapy Program

The clinic staff decided that the boy would be seen in therapy by E, and that the parents, who were quite resistant about coming for regular visits for themselves, would be seen at a later time. They eventually saw E. Although the usual policy of the clinic was to assign different therapists to child and parent, the circumstances of this case were not those in the ordinary sense. For one thing, the staff felt that one therapist, rather than two, might be more effective in bringing about both separation and reparation between mother and child, because of his advantage in having immediate access to many sides of the problem.

CHAPTER III

COLLECTION OF DATA

Scoring and Categories of Behavior

During the 29 sessions in which S produced doll activity, E took a verbatim style record of his statements and a descriptive style record of his actions. The records were then classified in terms of a limited number of predetermined categories, which were chosen after observation of many sessions of children's play. To complement the doll play categories, a summary of case material, including background information, test data, school progress, and sessions with S and his parents, is presented in the Appendix.

Data obtained from observation of doll play were limited to behavioral units (episodes). A behavioral unit was defined as follows: A unit begins whenever the agent or object of an action changes, or when the action itself, or the means of expression changes. These units may be verbalized by the child, or simply acted out. If the father doll spanks the boy doll and spans him again, this is scored as one unit, but if he spanks the boy doll and then tells him to go to his room, this is scored as two units. Routines, such as "the mother cooks and cooks and cooks," would be scored as one unit, while "the mother cooks the breakfast and gives it to the baby" would be scored as two units. Change in location will also

be scored as the beginning of a new unit (Sears, 1958; Baldwin and Levin, 1964).

For each behavioral-unit, the following categories and subcategories were obtained in terms of their frequency of occurrence:

1. Aggression, as distinguished by (a) kind of behavior, i.e., stereotyped and nonstereotyped, and (b) direction of behavior, i.e., agent-object for mother, father, and therapist dolls.

2. Nonaggression, as distinguished by (a) direction of behavior, i.e., agent-object for mother, father, and therapist dolls, and (b) solutions, i.e., child initiated and nonchild initiated.

If more than one doll agent or object was involved in one behavioral-unit, the tally given was in proportion to the number of dolls involved. For example, if father, boy, and girl dolls are served breakfast at the same time, each as agent in a single unit is accorded a score of one-third.

Operational Definitions

Behavior categories were defined below:

1. Total Aggression - All behavior involving injury or depreciation of an object or person, expressed directly by the child or through the medium of the dolls, whether in action or implied through tone of voice and content of speech. Interpretations are in accordance with the definition of Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears: "Any act whose goal response is injury to an organism (or organism-surrogate [p. 209])."

- a. Stereotyped Aggression - Any form of aggressive behavior which may include assertive actions or verbalizations which are appropriate to the time, place, character, and capability of the agent of aggression.

b. **Nonstereotyped Aggression** - Any form of aggressive behavior, as distinguished from stereotyped aggression, by its intensity, inappropriateness, or individualistic quality. (Examples of stereotyped and nonstereotyped aggression in doll play are given in Table I. They are similar to those developed by Robinson [1946], with some additions and changes.)

2. **Total Nonaggression** - As distinguished from total aggression, any form of behavior that can not be classified as being injurious or deprecating of an object or person by the child or through the medium of dolls.

a. **Solutions** - Responses in which an attempt is made to remove, modify, or show awareness and concern to deal with aggressive elements in a situation. They are expressed directly by the child or through the medium of the dolls, whether in action or implied through content of speech, and they may lead to a realistic and satisfactory outcome or to a nonrealistic (even fantastic) and unsatisfactory or temporary outcome, e.g., unable to get all the soda he wants, the boy goes to China and becomes "boss" of a hotel where the soda supply is unlimited.

Agents and objects for each act were indicated as follows:

mother

father

boy (sometimes referred to as "brother")

girl (sometimes referred to as "sister")

smaller baby

larger baby

TABLE 1

EXAMPLES OF AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR IN DOLL PLAY

Stereotyped Aggression	Nonstereotyped Aggression
<p>I. General</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Arguing, quarreling 2. Commanding (in aggressive tone) 3. Scolding 4. Threatening 5. Criticism of behavior 6. Depreciation of person 7. Attribution of bad qualities 8. Swearing 9. Teasing <p>II. Parent to child (dolls)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Any of the general examples 2. Sending to bed 3. Sending away from table 4. Isolation 5. Deprivation 6. Spanking or slapping 7. Refusal of requests 8. Restriction or prohibition of activity 9. Forcibly taking away objects <p>III. Parent to parent</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General examples <p>IV. Child to parent</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General examples 2. Refusal to comply with requests 3. Hiding 4. Running away 5. Crying 	<p>I. General</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hitting or beating, vigorously and injuriously 2. Kicking, jumping on, crushing, breaking 3. Throwing out of the window 4. Stuffing into and under furniture, equipment, including sink, toilet, center hole in paper towel 5. Doll assuming role of witch, giant, animal, inanimate object, with destructive consequences 6. Trapping 7. Killing 8. Intensely hostile, inappropriate, or individualistic verbal expressions 9. Any hostile or destructive act of which child would be incapable in real life <p>II. Parent to child (dolls)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General examples 2. Hitting 3. Hiding from children <p>III. Parent to parent</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General examples 2. Fighting, hitting, kicking <p>IV. Child to parent</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General examples 2. Spanking <p>V. Child to child</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General examples

TABLE 1--Continued

Stereotyped Aggression	Nonstereotyped Aggression
V. Child to child 1. General examples 2. Fighting 3. Hitting 4. Kicking 5. Breaking a toy	VI. Child to baby 1. General examples 2. Fighting, hitting, spanking, kicking VII. Baby to baby 1. General examples 2. Fighting, hitting, kicking
VI. Subject to dolls 1. General examples 2. Spanking, hitting, or slapping the dolls	VIII. Subject to dolls 1. General examples 2. Stepping on or breaking dolls or furniture 3. Having dolls trip, fall off, or pushed over furniture or into water

"therapist" (referred to at different times as "doctor," "uncle," of "father₁")

experimenter

subject

equipment

any nonhuman or fantastic agent, e.g., witch, fairy, animal indeterminate.

Scoring Reliability

An independent scoring for each category was made by an experienced play therapist for all 29 play sessions. Taking as a base the number of agreed units, reliability was defined in terms of the number of agreements and number of disagreements found between E and the independent scorer.

Agreements between scorers were calculated according to the formula:

$$\text{Percentage of agreements} = \frac{2 \text{ (total agreements of observers A and B)}}{\text{Total number of observations of A} + \text{Total number of observations of B}}$$

The per cent reliability for each category of behavior is presented in Table II.

TABLE 2

SCORER RELIABILITY

PERCENTAGE OF AGREEMENT FOR EACH CATEGORY OF

DOLL PLAY BEHAVIOR

(Includes all doll play sessions)

Category	Percentage of Agreement
Median of all categories	85.7
Total aggression	93.4
Stereotyped	84.8
Nonstereotyped	90.7
Mother, agent and object	83.3
Father, agent and object	93.3
"Therapist," agent and object	93.1
Total nonaggression	94.3
Mother, agent and object	89.1
Father, agent and object	83.4
"Therapist," agent and object	84.9
Solutions	85.7
Child initiated	83.2
Nonchild initiated	82.1

Percentage agreement for individual categories ranged from 82.1 for nonchild initiated solutions to 94.3 for total nonaggression. The median percentage agreement for all categories was 85.7.

E rescored all doll play sessions two months after the original scoring. The range of percentage agreement for individual categories ran from 89.5 to 97.9, with a median percentage of 93.1. These percentages of agreement compare favorably with those reported in the doll play literature.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Total Aggression Versus Total Nonaggression

Session-to-session changes in the amount of aggressive behavior in relation to nonaggressive behavior for control and experimental situations are found in Figure 1. A consistent trend of decreasing aggression accompanied a like trend of increasing nonaggression. Comparison of the differences between control and experimental situations, revealed in the control situation, an overriding prevalence of aggressive responses, and in the experimental situation, a consistent increase in nonaggressive responses. The findings on the comparison of frequency of incidents of total aggression to total nonaggression were in the direction of theoretical expectations.

That the use of a single case calls for proper caution in interpreting results should be made perfectly clear at the outset. By themselves, the results can not be assumed to provide verification for the hypotheses on which they are based.

The significant increase in nonaggressive-responding in the experimental situation did not justify concluding that this increase was necessarily a result of experimenter-intervention ("shaping"), although the point could surely be argued that shaping had achieved its results,

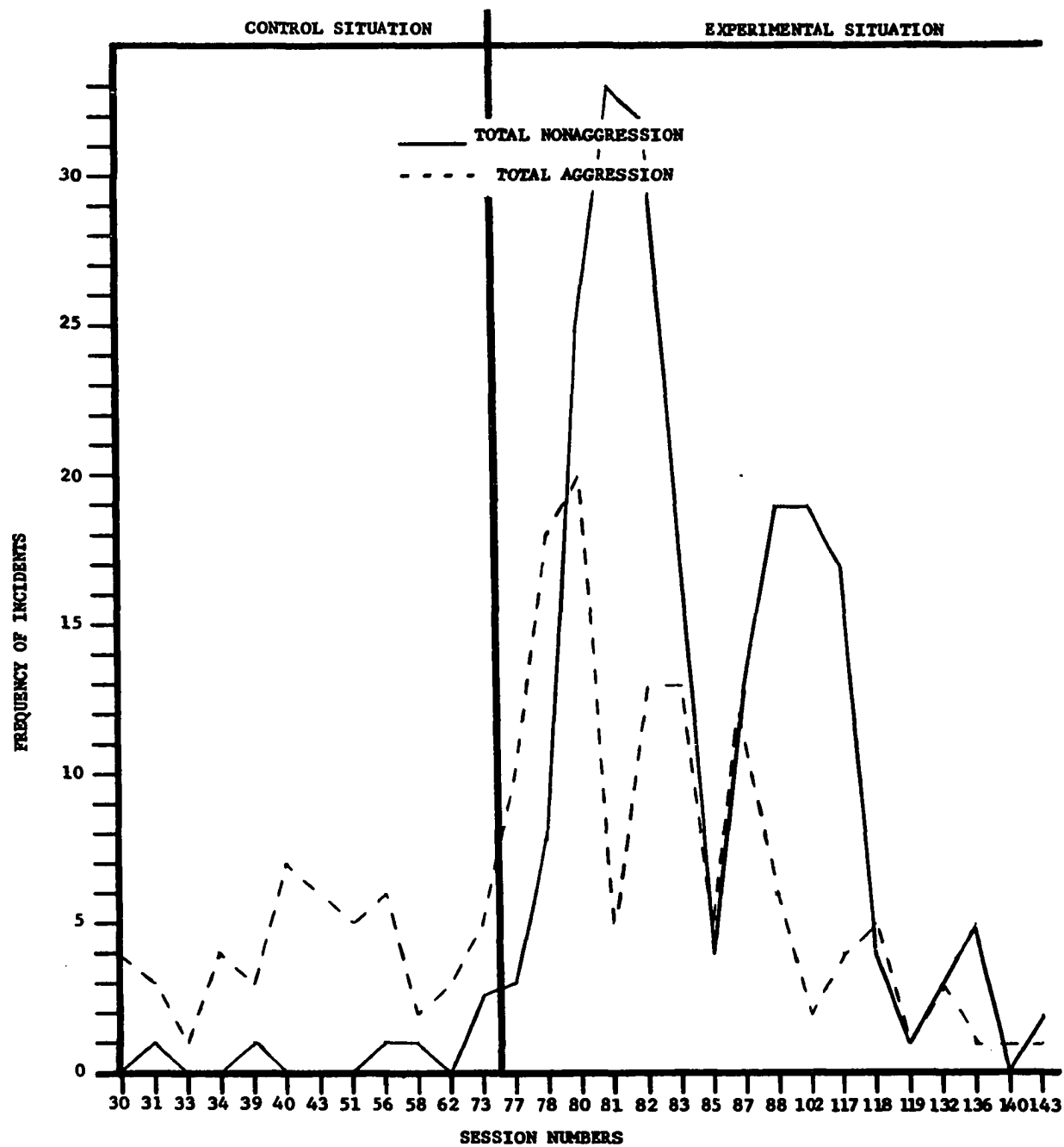


Figure 1
Comparison in frequencies of total aggression and total nonaggression

whereas experimenter-inactivity had not. Apparently, mere catharsis during the control period, had not by itself led to reduced aggression, suggesting that the child was best helped, at least in this instance, when E represented reality (cf. Garcia and Sarvis, 1964; Gondor, 1957) through his intervening stories.

Stereotyped Aggression Versus Nonstereotyped Aggression

Session-to-session changes in the amount of stereotyped aggression in relation to nonstereotyped aggression for control and experimental situations are found in Figure 2. A consistent trend in decreasing nonstereotyped aggression accompanied a like trend in increasing stereotyped aggression. Comparison of the differences between control and experimental situations, revealed in the control situation, an overwhelming prevalence of nonstereotyped aggression, and in the experimental situation, a consistent increase in stereotyped aggression. The results on the comparison of frequency of incidents of stereotyped to nonstereotyped aggression were in the direction of theoretical expectations.

These findings again suggested the probable influence of experimenter-shaping, this time in reference to promoting more socially accepted channels of expression. However, a possible alternative to the shaping hypothesis was suggested by Johnson's (1951) findings that aggressive content is a function of the age of the child. With groups of five- and eight-year-olds, she reported that the younger children showed more of what she called "contrasocial" aggression, while the older children's aggression was more "prosocial." Johnson's findings may have relevance to the gradual increase in stereotyped ("prosocial") aggression during

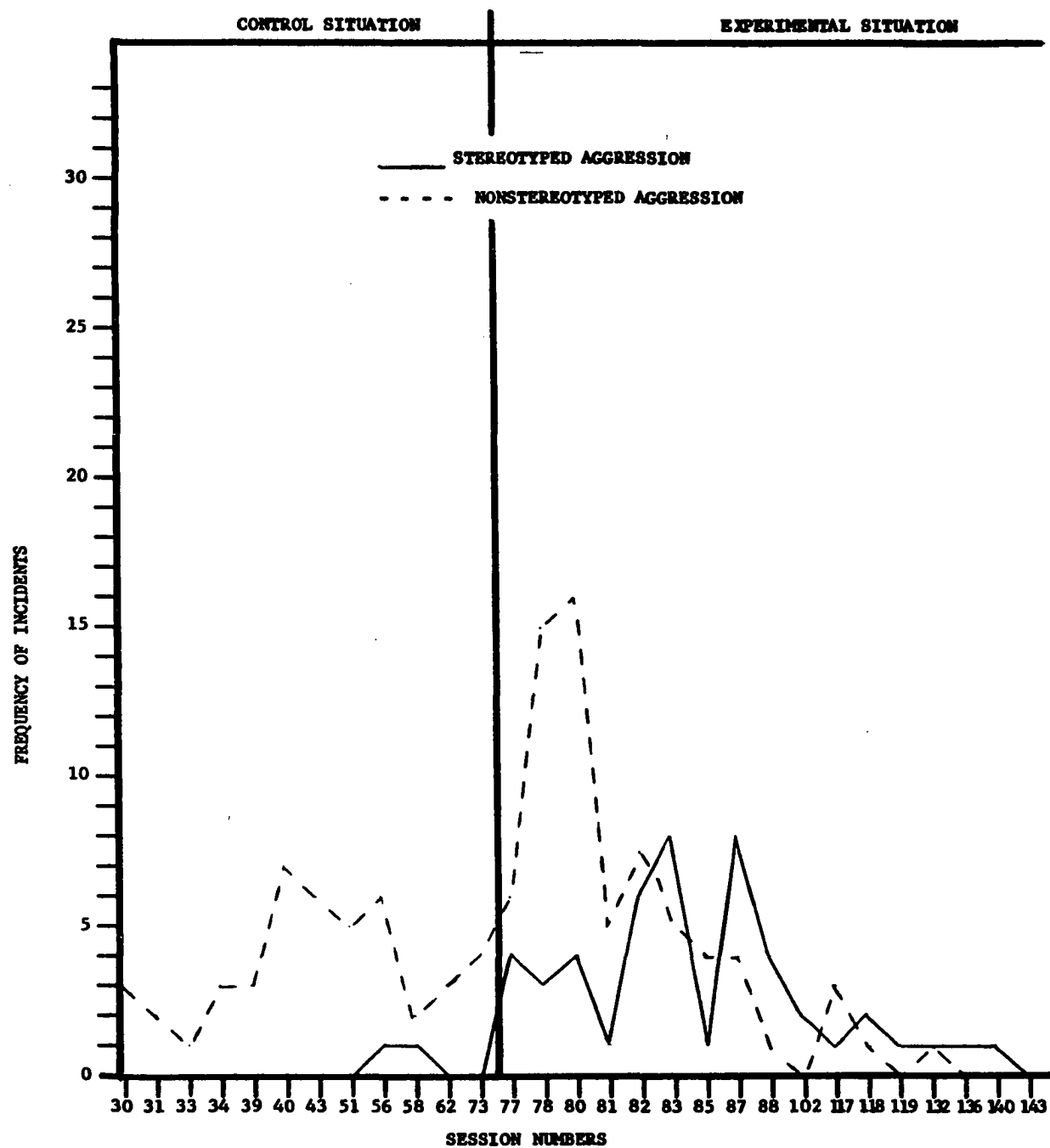


Figure 2
 Comparison in frequencies of stereotyped aggression and nonstereotyped aggression

the shaping period, but they did not explain why no such trend was found during the control period. While experimental results for stereotyped and nonstereotyped aggressive responses did not justify concluding that the findings necessarily stemmed from shaping, clearly diverse outcomes from experimental to control procedures suggested that these procedures were influential in determining response differences.

Total Solutions Versus Total Aggression

Session-to-session changes in the frequency of solutions in relation to aggression for control and experimental situations are found in Figure 3. Throughout the experimental sessions, the two variables showed a rather striking verisimilitude in frequencies, instead of an expected gradual trend in this direction. In contrast, under control conditions, many aggressive responses, and only a few solution attempts were made. The results on the comparison of frequency of incidents of solutions to aggression were in general agreement with theoretical expectations, although an anticipated gradual trend in verisimilitude of solutions and aggression was not found.

An equivalence of solutions with aggression throughout the shaping period was not anticipated. Rather, the expectation was that as S acquired more control over his own behavior, he would gradually increase the frequency of solutions in relation to aggression. This may yet be the case when considering for a moment the seemingly contradictory results that were achieved for the subcategories of total solutions, namely child initiated and nonchild initiated solutions (Hypothesis 4). That an increase was found in child initiated solutions in relation to nonchild initiated solutions

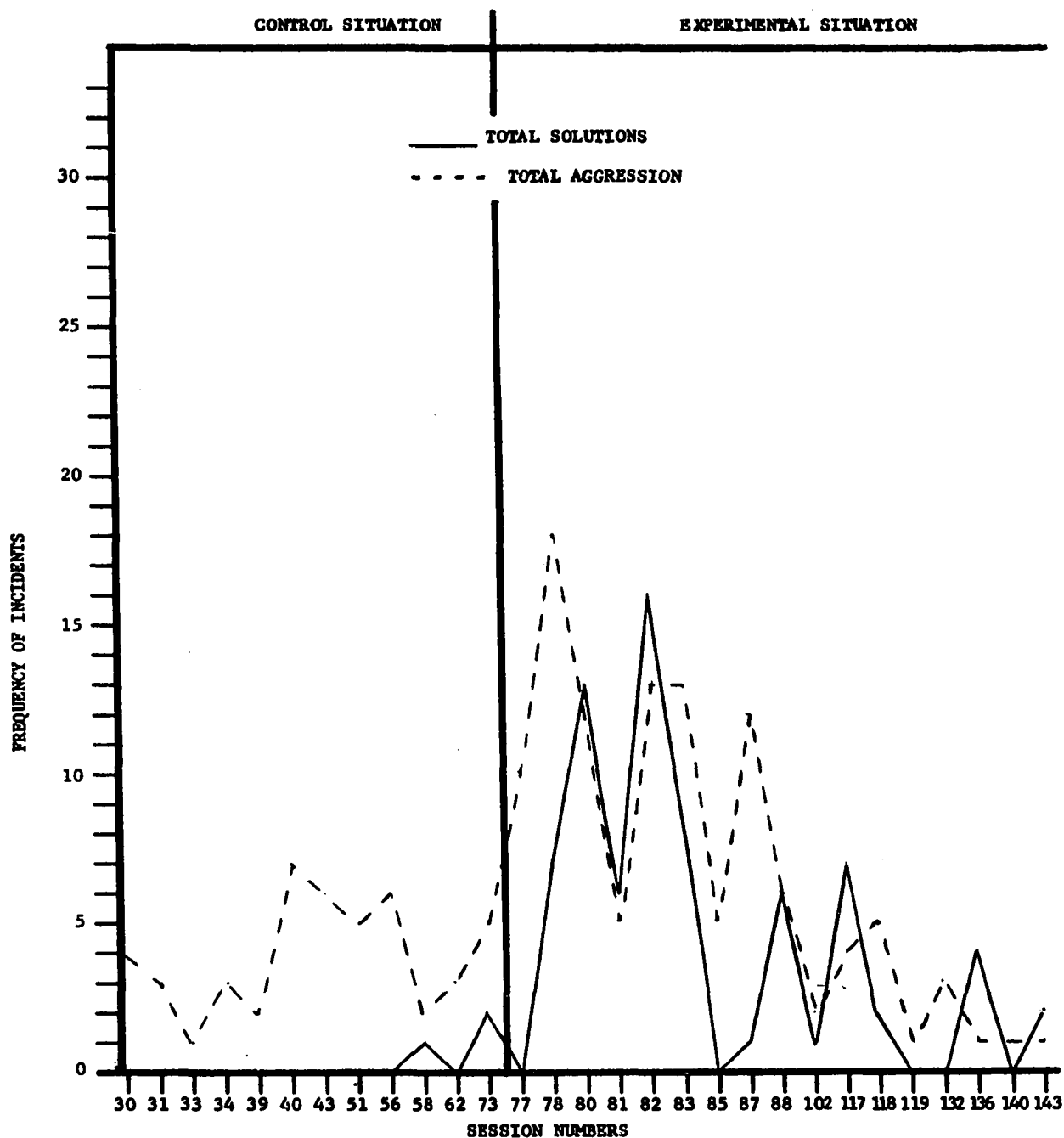


Figure 3
Comparison in frequencies of total solutions and total aggression

implied that a qualitative change did take place that was imperceptible in the results for total solutions. What was this qualitative change? Perhaps the high incidence of total solutions in the early part of shaping may have been a reflection of "blind" imitation by S of E's portrayed solutions, while the equally high incidence of solutions in the latter part of shaping may have mirrored a better developed capacity in S to experience himself as the agent of constructive behavior. At least this speculation was consonant with increased child initiated solutions, and with numerous examples from the case presentation of S, his parents, and the school reports. In early contacts with S, he was found to be strikingly dependent, and much less aware than in later sessions of his own potential for self-activation.

Finally, the evidence for positing a qualitative difference in phases of responding was inconclusive and required further investigation. The possible implications for conditioning therapies are particularly relevant in such an undertaking.

Child Initiated Solutions Versus Nonchild Initiated Solutions

Session-to-session changes in the amount of child initiated solutions for both control and experimental situations are found in Figure 4. A consistent trend of decreasing nonchild initiated solutions accompanied a like trend of increasing child initiated solutions. During control conditions, nonchild initiated solutions were prevalent, though frequency of occurrences was quite small. The results on the comparison of frequency of incidents of child initiated and nonchild initiated solutions were in the direction of theoretical expectations.

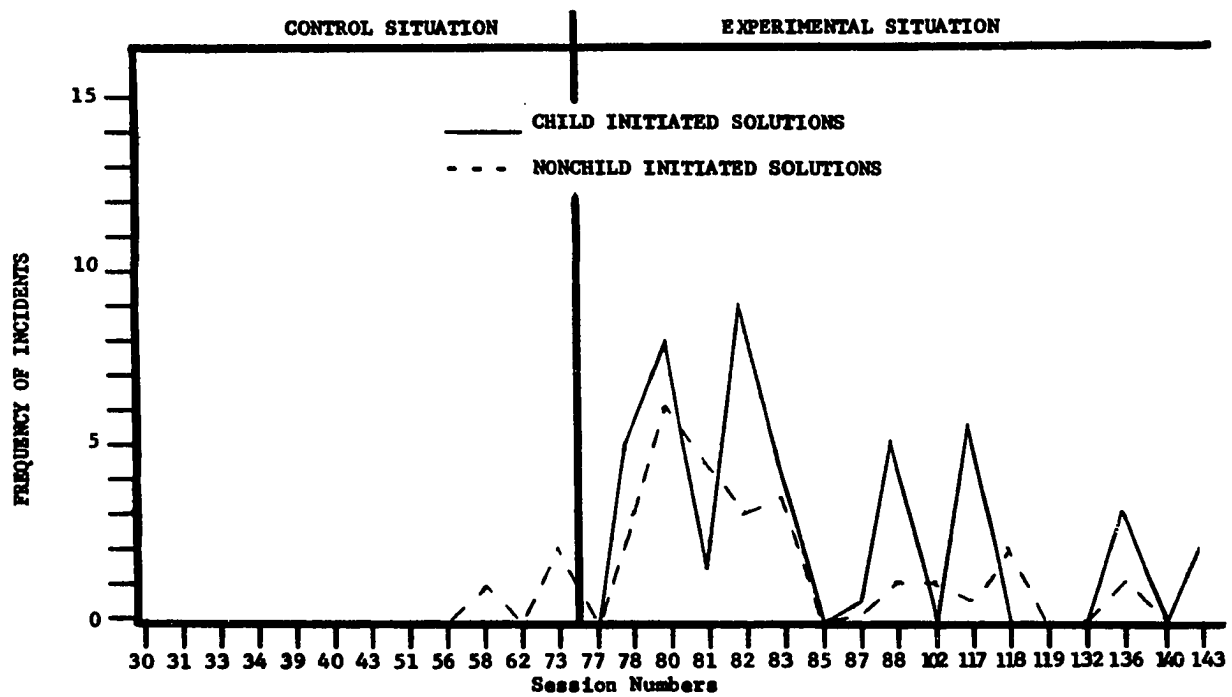


Figure 4
Comparison in frequencies of child initiated solutions and nonchild initiated solutions

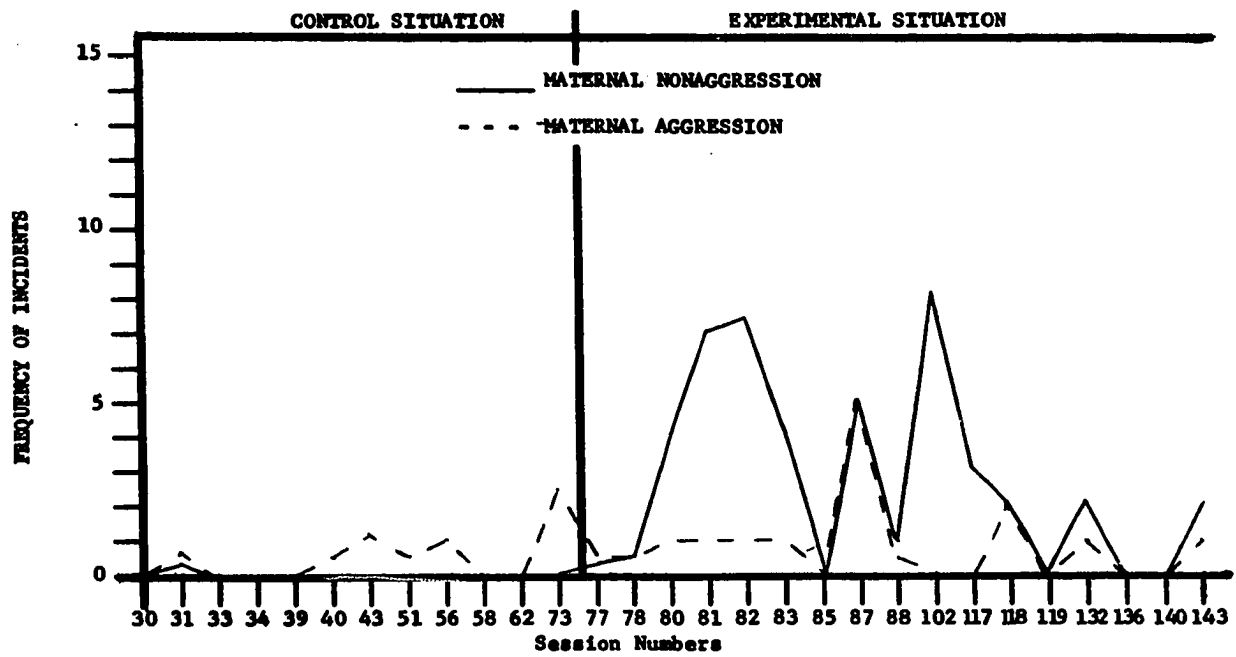


Figure 5
Comparison in frequencies of maternal aggression and maternal nonaggression

Doll activity on the part of S gradually tapered off, and of interest, in the last doll session, a scene that seemed to convey the notion of separation from the maternal figure was repeatedly acted out. Each time S enclosed the mother and boy doll in one hand, dropped them, and then had the boy go off to explore on his own.

By virtue of this last significant fantasy portrayal, to assume that S had outgrown the dolls seemed premature, and to suppose that S had achieved a point of departure from overdependency on his mother seemed overzealous. S had only eleven visits after the last doll session - hardly enough time to predict a cessation of doll play. Besides, periodic relapses frequently occur to more primitive modes of adjustment as Moore (1964), Kardos and Peto (1956), Alschuler and Hattwick (1951), and Griffiths (1945) have all demonstrated with various groups of children. Yet despite fluctuating trends in fantasy revelations, the experimental results were suggestively in accord with findings that fantasy play in general may be viewed in positive terms, by regarding the prevalence of certain symbolic themes as preparing the way for assimilation by the ego in its thrust toward maturity (cf. Anthony, 1940; Kardos and Peto, 1956; Moore, 1964).²

Maternal Aggression Versus Maternal Nonaggression

Session-to-session changes in the amount of maternal aggression (combined tally as agent and object) in relation to maternal nonaggression for control and experimental situations are found in Figure 5. A general trend from decrease to equivalence of maternal aggression accompanied a

²The previous discussion (re Hypothesis 3) is also relevant to this analysis.

like trend from increase to equivalence of maternal nonaggression. However, during part of the equivalence stage an upswing in nonaggressive-responding was noted. Control conditions revealed a preponderance of aggressive responses in regard to the maternal figure, though iteration of occurrences was quite small. The results on the comparison of frequency of incidents of maternal aggression to nonaggression were in the general direction of theoretical expectations, although during the equivalence stage an unexpected rise in nonaggressive behavior was noted.

The rationale for predicting fluctuations in maternal aggression was contained primarily in E's observations of S prior to doll play, his experience with other children in play therapy, and the results of other studies. For example, Moore (1964) found an oscillation between various poles of behavior in the natural course of children's play (with dolls). Two such poles mentioned were aggressive destruction and constructive reparation, which he reported maintained their independent rhythm despite structured intervention by E. S's unfolding maternal aggressive themes seemed also to have a fluctuating rhythm of its own, as may be gathered from the following brief account of his sessions:

Prior to the doll sessions, S suppressed overt expression of aggression almost entirely. During the control period S began to release aggressive feelings, first gingerly and indirectly, and later with more ardor toward the mother figure, but, with intense vengeance and personalized attributions. As E intervened during shaping to promote more constructive channels of expression, S responded with a definite decrease in maternal aggressive responses. Following a short period where no particular trend

was apparent, S expressed more appropriate (stereotyped) maternal aggression with a comparable frequency of maternal nonaggression. In effect, S's responses in relation to the maternal figure seemed to have become more attuned to the demands of the real world. If S had continued doll play beyond his contact period with E, while at the same time becoming more independent of his mother, predictions would be in the direction of less aggressive-responding, and a diminished frequency of maternal-involved stories altogether.

Unfortunately, the frequency of maternal responses was too small to provide adequately for separate results for maternal object and agent, and stereotyped and nonstereotyped aggression. Findings based on finer categorizations will have to await further study.

Paternal Aggression Versus Paternal Nonaggression

Session-to-session changes in the amount of paternal aggression (combined tally as agent and object) in relation to paternal nonaggression for control and experimental situations are found in Figure 6. Paternal nonaggression predominated during experimental sessions, rather than an expected gradual trend occurring in this direction. In contrast, under control conditions, paternal aggression was prevalent, though recurrence of responses was quite small. The results on the comparison of frequency of incidents of paternal aggression to nonaggression were in the general direction of theoretical expectations, although throughout the experimental period, a preponderance of nonaggressive behavior was found, rather than a gradually increasing trend in this direction.

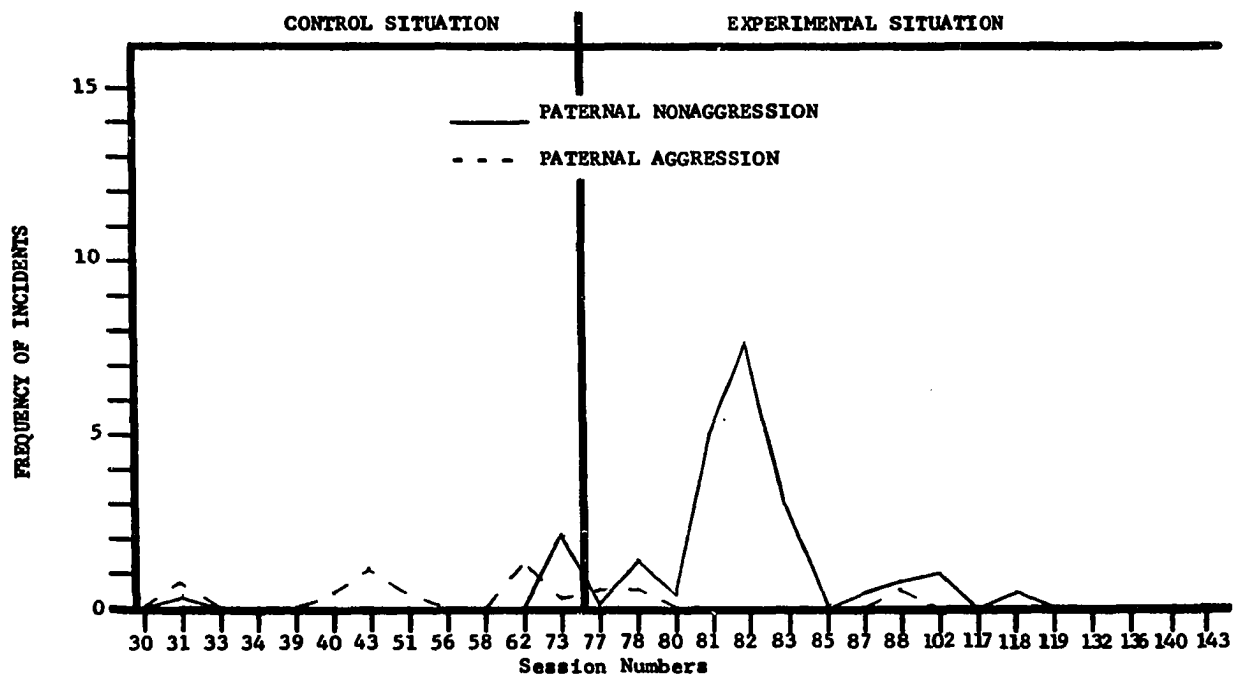


Figure 6
Comparison in frequencies of paternal aggression and paternal nonaggression

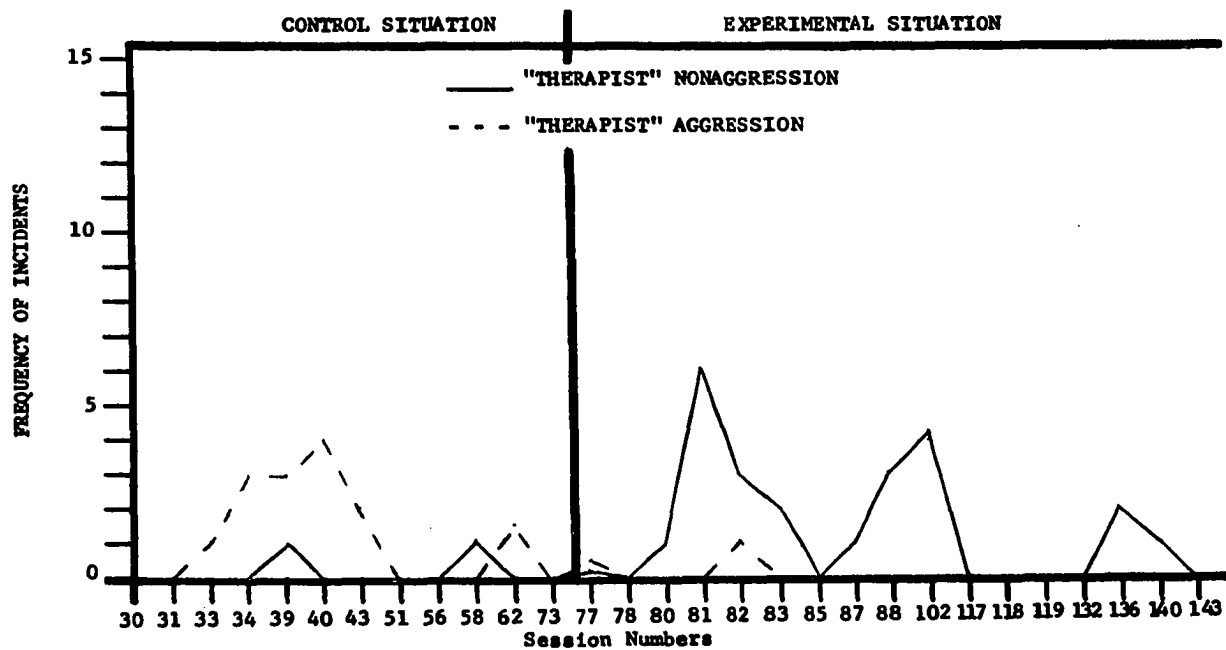


Figure 7
Comparison in frequencies of "therapist" aggression and "therapist" nonaggression

Two rather distinct phases in S's actual relationship with his father most likely influenced dichotomous results between control and experimental periods. First, there was a period, corresponding in time with the control conditions, of almost total overt abnegation of father by son, which was reflected in a scant number of paternal-involved responses. The few paternal aggressive responses present during this period were insignificant compared to the overwhelming total aggressive tally. Next, there was a period, corresponding in time with the experimental conditions, in which S developed closer ties with his father (e.g., placing his father's arm around him), as reflected in predominately nonaggressive responses toward the father doll.

Although this account is necessarily oversimplified, the main point to be made was that S did not actually pass through a distinct aggressive phase with his father. Had he done so, a gradual trend from scant to aggressive to nonaggressive doll-responding, or a fluctuating trend, as evidenced in maternal-responding, may have occurred. In effect, there were some real differences in S's relationship to his father and mother which would account for different findings in relation to each. In general, S seemed to be more emotionally involved with his mother, as a greater frequency of maternal-involved responses than paternal-involved ones suggested.

The discussion so far has perhaps been too academic in its stress upon the correspondence between real and fantasy behavior. To restate what was said earlier, although there are similarities between the child's domestic life and his fantasy depictions, child's play appears to vary

widely in the degree to which it adheres to or oversteps reality. And realistic events are by no means essential for the expression of real feelings in relation to the dolls and events they portray. In observing feelings and fantasies, rather than exact relationships to the reality of the child's domestic life, can learning begin from this method (Moore and Ucko, 1961; Moore, 1964).

"Therapist" Aggression Versus "Therapist" Nonaggression

Session-to-session changes in the amount of "therapist" aggression (combined tally as agent and object) in relation to "therapist" nonaggression for control and experimental situations are found in Figure 7. "Therapist" nonaggression prevailed throughout the experimental sessions, rather than there being a steady increment in this direction. In contrast, during control conditions, "therapist" aggression predominated. The results on the comparison of frequency of incidents of "therapist" aggression to nonaggression were in the general direction of theoretical expectations, although throughout the experimental period, a preponderance of nonaggressive-responding was found, instead of a gradual trend in this direction.

The reader may recall that the "therapist" doll was referred to at different times as "doctor," "uncle," and "father" of a second family. E originated the name "uncle," because to have referred to the doll as "therapist" might have created too direct (and frightening) a confrontation for S, as the real therapist shared the fantasy-stories with him. Portrayal of the parent dolls, on the other hand, was possible because the actual parents had not shared the immediate doll experience with S.

Perhaps the "therapist" doll was arbitrarily personified, since the doll as such was never called "therapist." Yet there seemed to be justification in spite of the fact that S had an uncle and he went to a family doctor, in that E and his father were the only adult males with whom S spent a consistent part of his time.

A distinct change toward the "therapist" doll from control to experimental periods in a nonaggressive direction may have in part inferred an "appreciation" for the therapist's intervention as the conveyor of reality and cooperation. S's frequent questioning of E during shaping as to how he could stop the characters from fighting may have lent some encouragement to this speculation. Whether or not a conscious acceptance by S of E's method could be implied, an improved relationship with E, and significant changes in all seven hypotheses between control and experimental situations, seemed to provide some claim for the shaping capabilities of the interposed stories.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This paper applied the single case method to an investigation of the effects of intermittent storytelling between E and a severely emotionally disturbed child through the medium of doll play, where E's stories followed the theme of the child's, but in addition, were structured to broaden possibilities for solutions to conflicts as they were originated in the child's stories.

Twenty-nine doll play sessions, varying in length over a period of two years and nine months, were compared for control (in which E was relatively inactive) and experimental conditions, and were analyzed in respect to various trends; namely, the extent, kind, and direction of aggressive responses, and the extent and direction of solution responses.

In addition, an elaborated case presentation of contacts with individual family members is presented (see Appendix) as a complement to the study, to give substance to the variety and unique content which was omitted in the quantitative report, and to provide an informal measure of validity for the investigation.

In summary, the main findings of this study were:

1. Increasing total nonaggression accompanied a like trend in decreasing total aggression.
2. Increasing stereotyped aggression accompanied a like trend in decreasing nonstereotyped aggression.
3. Total solutions increased to an equivalence with total aggression.
4. Increasing child initiated solutions accompanied a like trend in decreasing nonchild initiated solutions.
5. A general trend from increase to equivalence in maternal-involved nonaggression accompanied a like trend from decrease to equivalence in maternal-involved aggression. However, during equivalence, a period of upswing in nonaggression was noted.
6. A sharp increase in paternal-involved nonaggression accompanied a like decrease in paternal-involved aggression.
7. A sharp increase in "therapist"-involved nonaggression accompanied a like decrease in "therapist"-involved aggression.

Conclusions

The findings appeared to support the efficacy of the experimental procedure, in that the subject-variables under consideration showed demonstrable effects from control to experimental sessions in the direction of diminished and more appropriate aggressive-responding, and increased self-initiated and solution-responding. The findings were even more convincing considering E tried to limit bizarre responses during control sessions. Nevertheless, to assume that experimental shaping was the single agent accounting for the gains made by S would be over-optimistic. Individual

therapies of S, his mother and father, as well as nontherapy determinants, undoubtedly shared in the salutary outcome. A more precise measure of these influences was not available in the present design. The advantages of using a doll technique within a "natural" therapeutic setting were in other respects offset by the interpolation of uncontrolled variables.

In spite of the limitations of the present doll play program, there was something very positive to say about it. Especially with a child who possessed the many personal problems this one did, any procedure achieving the dramatic results from control to experimental sessions as was the case with this program, merits consideration. As a postscript to this study, S's father reported after a lapse of over two years, that his son has maintained the gains he achieved by the end of the doll play sessions.

The success of such a doll play program with a single child suggests that it is appropriate for use with other children who could benefit from constructive personality reparation, stemming from limited reality testing and untrammelled impulses. In other more temporary situations, where a child is going through a period of crisis, shorter programs geared to the needs of the child, might be constructive.

Finally, the case study approach, supplemented by objective procedures, has the advantage of providing in detail an idiographic description of the complex development of a single child. But as helpful as such studies are for forming better procedures and for generating useful hypotheses, an assumption must not be made that by themselves, such studies provide verification for hypotheses on which they are based.

Recommendations for Further Research

On the basis of the experience gained and the problems encountered while conducting the present investigation, continued study of the problem was suggested along the following lines:

Further study should be given to the nature and extent to which the doll program is influenced by differences in age, sex, socio-economic background, intelligence, and states of illness, such as chronic and acute conditions. Such endeavors should contribute to a further analysis of the factors already studied, and to an extension of the number of factors not yet investigated.

Further study should also be given to improved observational techniques using children as subjects.

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APPENDIX

CASE PRESENTATION

Complaints

Both parents, Mr. and Mrs. R., are finding it increasingly difficult to cope with Cord's rigidity, argumentativeness, and misbehavior at home. "From the minute he gets up," he wears them down with constant demands or questions as to why he has to do certain things. At other times, he insists that his mother share certain compulsive rituals with him. For example, he will copy bite-for-bite what she is eating, will repeat what she is saying, or will ask a barrage of questions that have obvious answers to them. Until recently, he had a habit of putting one of his mother's tissues in the toilet, and insist she tell him the tissue was pretty. Unless she performed this ritual with him he would not urinate.

Cord pays hardly any attention to his father and does not like to be touched by him. He responds to his mother's affection, and at times wants to help her with chores. Although within the last year his playmates have been younger than he, this represents an improvement in his social adaptation, since before this time he played with no children. His mother, however, feels that his close relationships are disturbed, and that he is selfish and lazy.

Summary of Past History

Cord's history was related to E by his mother. He is an only child following several miscarriages. A second child, born after Cord, died a few weeks after birth. Pregnancy with Cord was uneventful, but labor took 27 hours, requiring an instrument delivery. Cord maintained a sitting position around 9 months. He walked by 15 months, and talked sometime before he was 2, though Mrs. R. did not remember just when. Bowel training started when he was about one year old, but was accomplished a full year later.

Cord is described as "strange since birth," having screamed a great deal and slept poorly. Although he ate well as a baby, he rarely seemed satisfied. As he grew older, he was very anxious and very demanding of attention from his mother.

Summary of Pediatric Examination

A recent pediatric examination revealed no neurological signs. Usual childhood illnesses were reported with no apparent current medical difficulties.

Summary Psychological Test Report

Clinical Observations

Cord is a very good-looking child, except that one eyeball tends to pull over, distorting his expression. His appearance is somewhat feminine, and his voice is high and piping like that of a three-year-old. He tends to be somewhat furtive in his glance and verbalizes his suspicions of the examiner. At the same time, he hoped the test would go on and on,

because he wanted the continued attention, telling the examiner, "You're going home when my mommy tells you, and not before." His verbalizations are rigid but coherent, and his voice has a mechanical quality. He often misunderstood questions and instructions to a degree not expected except in a retarded child.

Examination Findings

The intelligence results reveal an optimal level of Bright Normal. His current functioning is within the average level (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children: Full Scale 101, Verbal Scale 103, Performance Scale 100), but there are striking deviations from the norm, particularly an impaired achievement in general comprehension. Rote memory is very good, as is arithmetic, and observation of physical details. His visual-motor speed is very undeveloped, but his spatial judgments are good. Faced with a difficult task, his feelings of defeat and the desire to give up come to the foreground. Anything which puts him in higher esteem (such as an unexpected success) evokes a great deal of delight and excitement. Apparently, Cord veers between the two poles of self-rejection and unrealistic self-love.

The projective material yields the picture of a very empty little boy, who lives very largely in a mechanical compulsive fashion, with no stirrings of fantasy or desire. His one big goal in life is to defend what is his. The enormity of the psychic emptiness suggests a chronic situation very early in its etiological history. His energy output is very low, and since he is goal-less, the easiest way is the best way. The surface defenses are compulsive, but the personality structure is schizophrenic.

He has a totally unreal body image, in the sense that it can not be duplicated by his actual functioning. The big stomach is the most important part of him. He is on very long legs (making him a big boy - even a man), but the legs are stick-like, and can not support him. The arms are just a gesture to the demands of reality, but with no hands to actually touch and feel the world around him. Of dynamic interest is his portrait of the female (mother) as having even a more tremendous stomach than the boy. There are surely distorted fantasies about the mother, and food, reflected in this picture. He actively feels orally deprived, and his contempt for his mother's cooking is a spiteful reflection of this feeling. In the fantasy stories, he describes the urge to steal something and then lock it safely. He is frightened, however, by his aggressive feelings toward his parents, since he feels literally "faint" at the possibility of losing the little support they can provide him. His mother's lack of affectionate involvement with him is felt by him as a sense of his own isolation. At times, he reacts with intense anger to her withdrawal, which may appear as a temper tantrum, but is more likely to be in the controlled form, demanding her attention.

Summary

Cord is a child who lives in a mechanical, compulsive fashion. He is unable to react except in a highly narcissistic, infantile way, since most of his impulse-life is fixed at an early oral level, and all his experiences have the significance of something to be swallowed by him, or not to be swallowed if it might be dangerous. His personality development will be minimal without therapy, and his brittle defenses may not see him through adolescence.

Diagnosis

Inadequate personality with compulsive defenses (with a latent Schizophrenic base). Recommendations: Psychotherapy.

Summary Description of Parents as it Focuses on the Child

Both parents were American-born of mid-eastern European extraction, and were reared in a lower-middle-class family in the same large urban community. They owned a modest home within city limits, situated in a less populated, but growing area.

Mrs. R., at forty, appeared too old and ponderous for her years. E immediately noticed her rimless glasses, "correct" posture, and the way her skirt liberally and carefully covered her knees when she sat down. Taking out some prepared notes, she came straight to her concerns about Cord. She frowned disapprovingly as she talked about him, and there was an urgency in her voice, even anxiety, that it might be too late.

Mrs. R. is a rigid person who is absorbed with her home and duties to her mother. She is a cold and rejecting mother whose love for her son was greatly reduced as he came out of babyhood. Basically, she would like to rid herself of him, but has strong misgivings about such negative feelings. After losing patience with him, she sometimes forces herself to hold him, as she believes this is what a good mother should do.

Mrs. R. is the youngest of four siblings (two brothers and one sister). As the youngest, her mother had little time to spend with her, an occurrence which she remembers having cried a great deal over. She describes her sister as "sweet" and "good," always her parents' favorite. Mrs. R. tried hard to get parental approval too, but she never received

the acclaim that her sister did. However, she did manage to get some recognition as the most reliable, punctual, and dutiful member of the family. Mrs. R. finds it necessary to negate references to an obviously unhappy childhood by completing her family chronicle in a picture of warmth and happiness.

Mrs. R. went on her first date in her mid-twenties. She married at 29, and disclaims any previous intimate relations. Her description of married life is almost too model. For example, she speaks of Mr. R. as treating her like a "queen." "He'll give in in every way." Fights are rare, she says, and occur only over minor things. Later in treatment, Mrs. R. reveals more realistic, albeit more angry feelings toward Mr. R.

Mr. R. is a 43-year-old salesman, who is more casual-appearing than his wife. However, the casualness seems in large part a function of his lack of involvement with his son. He prefers to use long words to shorter ones, which gives him an air of formality and distance in relating to others. Under pressure, his speech becomes verbose and stilted. For example, when asked to describe his marriage, he answered that it was "most harmonious as far as two people of the opposite sex are concerned."

Mr. R. has lately been making attempts to understand his son, but is not significantly involved with him except when the boy upsets his wife. Right now he claims he is appealing to the boy's reason and sense of fairness to behave better, but has up to very recently hit him often.

Summary of First 30 Sessions Prior to Doll Play

E's impressions of Cord over the first 30 sessions may be summed up to include: (1) an overly close reliance on his mother, (2) helplessness

in initiating ideas and action, (3) magical and animistic thinking, and (4) fear of aggressive wishes.

Overreliance on Mother

Mrs. R. usually brought Cord for his appointments. On several occasions she was not present as he was ready to leave. He refused to stay in the waiting room unless she was there. E spoke with Mrs. R. about the necessity at that time for providing Cord with an easy transition from one separation experience to another. Later on, as the boy became used to his weekly visits, he did not want to leave the playroom when time was up, which then became an issue in therapy.

A chance meeting on the street with Cord and Mrs. R. before a session produced a reaction of fear in Cord, to a point where he would not come with E to the clinic unless his mother accompanied him. Cord's overly close ties with his mother were reflected, in general, in a rather shadowy picture of himself. To demonstrate the fuzziness of his ego, he was unable to role-play with E, as reversing of roles disoriented and frightened him. To pretend he was someone else probably first required a firming of his own ego boundaries.

Helplessness

He seemed much more a child of habit than one who could adapt himself to new situations. For example, in building blocks he would follow instructions to the letter. If averted a moment from his task, he would become very upset, and would easily give up.

If Cord had his way, E would decide everything for him, though actually, he would strongly resist such an intrusion. Such was the nature of his passive-resisting behavior, first developed with his mother. In therapy, he was encouraged to make decisions as often as possible. When model instructions were not read to him or parts of a model not built for him, which it was felt he could do, he often became very angry, and would "accidentally" spill glue or water on the floor. In time, he did more of his own model building, and began taking pride in his own finished work.

Magical and Animistic Thinking

Were the models, the airplane, the dog, and other inanimate objects actually alive? he would often ask. On another occasion, when he was afraid to see if his mother had left the waiting room, he had an airplane look for him, but he finally decided that it could not see anything "through the doorknob."

Aggression

Beneath a whining, helpless, and automaton-like exterior, were mounting angry feelings. Expression of aggression at first was blunted and redirected against himself. Gradually, he vented hostility at inanimate objects, and later at the dog and baby puppets. Direct expression of aggression at E and his mother was the most frightening of all, and had to await a later time for expression.

Doll Play Sessions and Summary of Intervening Therapy Sessions

Session numbers are centered directly above doll play sessions. Summaries of intervening therapy sessions are also included to give the presentation continuity. "C" represents the boy. "K" represents the E.

C: Suffocates and crushes baby by putting his hand over it, and pressing down with all his might. Then steps on baby.

C: Gathers family up and crumbles them between his hands. With apparent satisfaction, notes their "twisted bodies".

Thirty-second hour. I introduce finger paints. Cord allows himself to "mess," but only for a short time, and must quickly go to the sink to remove all traces of paint. He relates a scary dream he had last night, where a black mother bear and baby bear tell him to do something which he (courageously) refuses to do; but he must run into bed and cover his eyes. He also remembers an old dream in which he kills two lions in bed with a knife - "That's the good part." After relating dreams, he shoots the dart gun at doll figures. It's least scary to hit the baby. Even at that, he holds onto his penis.

C: Hits doctor doll.

For the remainder of the hour we play knock-hockey. He hits the puck with increasing and unrestrained fierceness. I act a little silly in an attempt to reduce Cord's apparent anxiety and fear of aggression, while injecting a bit of humor, on his level, into the activity. He is quite hilarious, but suddenly is afraid, as he thinks I have an angry frown on my face.

C: Crushes doctor doll between his hands, because doctor is "mad at the children (projection)." Says, with an inappropriate grin, that he would like to take off doctor doll's head.

He denies any anger at me. For the first time he keeps score in a competitive game, and holds onto his penis less.

Thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth hours. Cord wants to play chess. He grasps the moves well, and doesn't just copy mine. (A sedentary game, such as chess, can be a respite when overwhelming affect threatens to take charge. The ease in which Cord learned such a difficult game is just one of many indications that his potential I.Q. is superior to his present score of 101.)

Thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth hours. I won't help Cord build "his house" of play bricks. This makes him very angry, and he says that I want him to fail. His house topples, but unlike in the past, he doesn't just give up in frustration and disgust; he rebuilds. I compare his ability to start again with growing up and "getting away a little from mother." My interpretation makes him uneasy. Later on, however, he announces that he doesn't play with a certain little girl anymore, who is three years his junior, because "I'm growing up."

C: Jams piece of wire into doctor doll's hand. Doctor is "holding a stick."

Rips the stick from him and says that now "he's lame."

Cord wants me to be his "mommy's wife." Then he decides he can't have "two daddies." He leaves the room in a mess, and runs out to the

waiting room to inform his mother that in here he's allowed to mess.

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C: "Kills" doctor doll, then "kills" the rest of the family. Sends them all to jail. While in jail, he "cuts 'em" all in the stomach, and "cuts" doctor doll's "pipe" (I smoke a pipe) and his eyes. Then he squeezes doctor doll as hard as he can.

For the remainder of the hour, he learns to shoot rubber-tipped darts from a gun. His shots land above the target. Instead of lowering his aim, he must raise the target (as though he does not yet see himself as the actor in his environment, at least in regard to shooting darts).

Forty-first and forty-second hours. Cord uses finger paints again. He is afraid to get messy. "Mommy will kill me." I encourage that it must be fun to mess some. Later, he draws a picture of a house with a big boy in it. By comparison, he draws himself "so small." We play knock-hockey, but Cord can not keep score or adhere to rules of the game. Although nearly eight years old, he has not yet reached a stage in his emotional development where ground rules for competition are important.

He builds a house of play bricks for mother and himself to live in (he will be mother's baby). But he isn't so sure that he likes this arrangement, as he decides to "crush" the house.

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C: "Don't bite me Doc." Crushes the head of doctor doll . . . "he hurts his little head." Next he crushes mother doll . . . "that's the end of the girl." He "breaks" the arm of father doll. Quite suddenly he

looks for a hidden microphone that is recording everything he's saying. (There never was a microphone in the room.) He stuffs entire family down a hole in a roll of paper towels . . . "help, help."

At the end of the hour he asks his mother why she is frowning (probably a projection of his own hostile wishes and expressions, as she didn't appear to be frowning more than usual). Several weeks before this session, I had been thinking about limiting his doll play, as I was afraid that too much venting of bizarre fantasies might prove to be dangerous. Cord is aware of my plans, and reminds me that I once said he could do what he wanted with the play material, except to destroy it. Furthermore, he says, I ought to know that when he "looks down," it means he does not want to be interrupted.

Forty-fourth and forty-fifth hours. Cord actively bursts balloons. Many magical ideas emerge, such as the belief that a cap gun shot will break the balloon. At first he bursts them by crushing them against a solid object. Later, he would like to shoot them. Shooting seems to have a less primitive quality than crushing, the former, perhaps suggesting a direct act of aggression, the latter, the impact of an oppressive tie with mother from which he is trying to escape.

The following hour, he endows the balloons with female attributes. If I were a "good guy," he says, even though the time is up, I'd let him burst more balloons.

Forty-sixth hour. Does he remember when he used to whine and ask me to do almost everything for him? I ask. I encourage that he load his cap gun, that he put balloons on the faucet to fill them with water, etc. He

laughs, "It's fun." The worst that can happen, I say, is that he can't do it, but he won't know unless he tries. Cord acknowledges that he used to be afraid to try things on his own, but not as much anymore.

Forty-seventh to fiftieth hour. For the next several sessions Cord works on a new model. As I sit beside him, at one point I touch him. He must "rub off" the point of contact with a rag.

Despite many remaining problems, Cord seems to be acting with more confidence and maturity. There is more of a boyish, mischievous ring to his balloon bursting, in comparison to a frightened, often uncontrollable and bizarre quality displayed in past behavior. He commands the balloons as though they are human, "Do that . . .," etc. Today marks the first time he helps pick up the playroom, and also one of the first times he doesn't engage in a struggle with his mother over washing his hands when leaving.

51

C: "Kills," "breaks," and has entire family "dying." Then he announces he's dead, his body parts separated. (Through the dolls, I interpret that they want to be his friends, but this seems to have no effect on his wild melee. For the next hour I suggest a shift to model building.)

Fifty-second to fifty-fifth hour. Cord shows more willingness to put together a model on his own. In hand puppet play, his puppet fights (crumbling motion) mine, and he can not stop their fighting when the time is up.

C: Fills a balloon with water, placing baby underneath the balloon. Baby cries . . . "wa wa . . . da da . . ." Tries to put baby down the sink drain. He "hates him because he cries too much." (I interpret that the baby is too valuable to be gotten rid of; I want to keep him.) Baby is drowned, then crushed in the toilet. Cord screams. He crushes both "mother balloon" and baby against each other. (I stress the good, rather than the crushed part of the baby.)

Fifty-seventh hour. In playing knock-hockey, Cord pretends the puck goes "up into space," where it must fight a gorilla. I pretend to catch the puck and save it from the gorilla.

C: Boy fights sister (crumbles them together) to see who will sit in a chair. Baby cries, "wa wa . . ." He's smothered in bathtub. "Who should sit in the chair?" . . . Looks at me furtively. (Seems to either ask who is right, or wants me to arbitrate. I separate the fighting children, but not punitively, pointing out that they are both different, as I am different from both of them. Cord seems to need a sense of self, separate from his mother. I also point out that it's not necessary to fight over the chairs since there are enough chairs for each. Furthermore, babies are allowed to cry. "You cried when you were a baby," I say.)

Fifty-ninth hour. I am told by Mrs. R. that Cord has been fighting with a girl in class, and that the teacher has been talking about placing Cord into a different class. Cord plays out the classroom scene with hand puppets. He crushes the girl and has her eaten by a bear. He insists I tell him who will be put out of class. I play out a story emphasizing the separateness of each, while trying to point out the reality of not fighting in class.

Sixtieth and sixty-first hours. Cord places soldier-figures on the other side of a door, and cries, "help, save me." I reassure him that nothing will happen to him. There is more playing out of anger at the girl in class.

62

C: The two men, father and doctor, are hitting each other. They "fall" into the water (he punches them in). Both are drowning.

Is he afraid of water, I wonder? Last summer he tried to swim in the "shallowest pool." This summer, though, he will try the "second shallowest pool." I relate to him how I was scared when I first was learning to swim. He can tolerate some bodily contact, my rubbing his head, without pulling away.

Sixty-third to sixty-sixth hour. Cord builds a model. When I won't help he becomes very angry. At the end of the hour I put an arm around him (he pulls away a little), and remind him that he sometimes gets angry with mother when she does things for him that he can do. This seems to ignite a spark of understanding.

Sixty-seventh and sixty-eighth hours. He continues to build an airplane model, both of us working harmoniously together. He comments on how the pilot and copilot can "help" each other.

Sixty-ninth to seventy-first hour. Cord repeats an old theme of helplessness and messing in model building. I stress patience on his part, and unrealistic expectations that it can be done for him. I also make a note to myself to understand, and I hope cope with, my own negative feelings in regard to Cord's pervasive passivity and undue destructiveness.

Seventy-second hour. There is an interesting shift in knock-hockey play today from session 66. Like then, he keeps score and expresses a desire to compete. But unlike the former session, he can now accept points though the bell (defending the goal) rings faintly from the strike of his puck. Also, he now places the puck advantageously behind the shooting line, instead of taking a shot from wherever it rested after my return shot. His whole manner of play seems more grownup.

73

C: Punches family members . . . "They're just wounded." Mother goes back to the hospital. Baby sits on father's lap. Hard for him to decide whether to "shoot" baby, or have it take milk from father. Hits mother in the stomach. (I wonder if he knows where babies come from. He answers, hospitals; mothers find them there.)

Seventy-fourth to seventy-sixth hour. Cord engages in perseverative cap gun shooting. He would like to go into the waiting room to shoot mother, but he is concerned that the gun can "kill." I show him how to

load the cap gun, and by example, try to dispel some of his magical and fearful ideas surrounding it. In the following session he wants mother to buy him caps, though he asks if people will be scared if he shoots at them. "Just as with you, Cord," I answer, "in the beginning, maybe, but once they find out it doesn't hurt anyone, they won't be afraid."

77

- C: One family visits another family. Visiting girl is playing with boy. She breaks one of his toys. They "crush" each other. Girl is dead. Finally, family are fighting (he rubs them all together between his hands). They all have to go to the hospital.
- K: One family visits another. A friendly atmosphere prevails. Girl breaks one of boy's toys by mistake. He hits her. The adults separate them before anyone gets hurt.
- C: Again one family visits another. Visiting girl spills some water on the floor, making boy very mad. They hit each other. Entire family are fighting (rubs them all together between his hands). All have to go to the hospital.
- K: Repeat essentially my previous story. I ask Cord what the differences are between our stories. Cord: "I don't have to tell you." (As a healthier substitute for accumulating and discharging tension than crushing dolls, I play an animated game with him in which we take turns hiding an object, then indicating to the searcher if he's getting "hot" or "cold." Perhaps, rubbing two stones together would have served a

similar purpose. Yet I wonder, in his need to crush objects, aside from its destructive aspects, if he isn't acting out the possibility of escape?)

C: Children and babies are fighting, (at times) killing one another, and causing each other to have to go to the hospital for "ten years."

K: Babies are taken care of by parents. Children fight over who is favorite. Parents stop their fighting.

C: Essentially same story where children and babies are fighting among themselves, resulting at times in death. At one time or another boy, girl, and babies must go to the hospital.

K: My story is the same as my previous one, with the exception that the children are able to stop the fight themselves without the help of adults.

C: Children are fighting. They kill each other, and also have to go to the hospital. After a long period of fighting they become tired of it, and they stop fighting. They must go to the hospital, though; but after being in the hospital ten years, they both come out. "Hello Johnny." "Hello Janey." (I am moved and want to hold Cord. What a beautiful story; I couldn't have done as well myself, I tell him.) Johnny and Janey marry. They hug their mothers and fathers. (This is too good to last) as entire family ends in a mad fighting melee, with killing and need for hospitalization.

Cord returns to the dolls later in the session.

C: Boy and girl are fighting, then crushing each other. Father stops them (but only temporarily). They go back to fighting.

K: In my story the participants stop fighting.

80

C: Boy and girl take turns taking great big dives in the water. They're having fun. Time for them to eat now. Oh, they're drowning . . . "help, help." They manage to come out themselves, and mother "has" to dry boy. (Meanwhile) baby is crushed (in a paper towel). Mother wipes children and baby. He puts all three in a paper towel and jumbles them up. They're fighting. He stuffs them, one by one, first baby, then girl, then boy, in the cylindrical hole of a paper towel roll. "Help" . . . (in different voices, as each one is dropped down the hole.) Each, with difficulty - boy, girl, baby - manage to get out by themselves.

K: Mother is bathing both babies. (Cord is worried they will drown.) I say "no," mother is there. (Cord wonders which baby is more afraid.) They're not afraid, because mother is there with them. (Cord: "Sometimes they're afraid.")

C: Babies are alone in the house. They get into the bathtub . . . they cry (imitates a crying baby). They go over to the toilet, fall in, and are flushed down . . . They're dead. Mother and father come home. Mother cries when she sees the dead babies (imitates a crying mother).

- K: Babies have a sitter and are watched. Nothing should happen to them.
- C: Boy, girl, and babies take turns making big dives (into sink filled with water). Boy and girl "dropped one (baby)," and he is drowning. They don't know what to do. (As though suddenly struck with a novel idea) "Know what happened? the uncle takes him out to dry."
- K: Boy splashes mother (Cord is gleeful), because he is angry with her for not washing him, and for letting him almost drown.
- C: Girl splashes boy . . . they fight . . . He punches her "with all his might." Girl dies, as her head is submerged under water; boy lives.
- K: Girl splashes boy. (Instead of fighting and drowning her) he tells her he's angry with her, and won't help her with her homework.
- C: Babies are hurt. Mother takes them to the hospital. Children go to the hospital to bring babies home. They're "alright now."
- K: Babies fight but mother stops them. Then children start to fight, but they stop each other . . . "they're not babies; they can talk."
- C: Boy and girl fight, but "they figures out the argument." They go swimming, taking babies with them (in swimming). They watch over babies, and dry them off.

As Cord enters the waiting room his mother frowns and expresses displeasure over his getting a little wet.

C: Boy and girl take bath, dry themselves, and get dressed.

K: Girl pours hot chocolate for herself and boy. He spills it. Girl makes no fuss about it, but rags it up, and they have a good time.

C: Mother fills pitchers, cups, and saucers with water. "The plate where bread is served goes in the middle." . . . places bread plate in middle of table. He seats family at the table, using toilet and laundry box as seats, as there are not enough chairs to go around. They begin eating. (After they finish, I ask: how was it?) Very good.

K: I give a neutral story, waiting for Cord to initiate the theme. Mother is serving dinner to family. I vividly describe each course. Mother also feeds babies. (Cord appears to be very concerned over which baby is the older.)

C: Family goes on a trip. They are packing. They're going to find a cottage. Good time is had at the cottage . . . they "eat and eat and eat." Sets up table and has them eat.

I ask Cord if his stories are different than mine. He says that he's "learned to have stories without fights, but not always."

K: Family members see a man diving into the water. Boy wants to dive too, but is afraid to receive diving instructions.

C: Family dives into the pool. Their bodies twist and turn as they dive. They swim and then come out. They dry themselves. "Have to be real

wiped." They go in again. (I ask, is no one scared?) "Not yet."
 "Help, help, I is scared now." Little girl is crying for help. No
 one comes to her rescue, because they are far away and the water is
 50 feet deep . . . Uncle comes to save her . . . takes her out and
 dries her. She is badly hurt. Uncle goes back into the pool, then
 he and family come out of the water together.

K: Boy is drowning in the pool. Family call doctor who stays with boy
 until he is well. Doctor tells boy that he shouldn't go into the
 water after he has eaten a lot.

C: Father dives into the water, then uncle, mother, boy, and girl, in
 that order. They're having a "great time." "Help, help." ("Who?"
 I ask.) (long hesitation) "Mother . . . not drowning, just too much
 salt in her mouth when she ate." The others, except babies, rescue
 her and carry her out, dry her, and then dry themselves.

I tell a short story before the session ends. Cord helps pick
 up; as he does, he has the babies fighting. He wants more than his usual
 share of lollipops. I refuse his request, and at the same time emphasize
 the reality of limits.

C: Family goes swimming, leaving babies with a sitter. Family is having
 a "great time" in the water. "Help, help." Girl is drowning. Family
 rescue her, dry her off, and call doctor, who takes care of her.

- K: Family is in swimming. Girl gets tired so she floats. (Cord: "That's what I do.")
- C: "Help, help." Mother and uncle are drowning. Girl and boy try but can't get them out, so they call father who takes them out of the water.
- K: Girl is tired, so she floats and coasts to shore.
- C: "This is fun." Baby falls in the water and starts to drown . . ."wa wa . . ." Cord saves baby by taking it out of the water, "but he's (baby) real sick." Few years later baby grown into a child. Child (boy) goes into the pool, and then comes out by himself.
- K: Boy acts like a baby; he cries and pretends he isn't old enough to swim. (Cord appears fascinated.) But once he tires of acting like a baby, he swims.
- C: Family is in swimming. "Wa wa, help . . ." "This isn't the story." Boy and girl are wrestling in the water, but they're "not fighting." Boy hits girl. "Ouch, stop punching," girl tells him. It's all over, brother won and sister tells mother what brother did to her. "So you told mother, did you!" He hits her. Mother to boy and girl: "Wait, a pool isn't good for wrestling, just good for swimming."
- K: Girl cries for help; she's afraid she'll be crushed if she gets mad and starts to fight. Boy reassures her that she won't get hurt.
- C: Mother and father just got married. They have a new child, a boy, who is one second old (baby). Next day a girl is born who also is one

second old. Babies grow up until at last they are eight years old (boy and girl). Father comes home from work. He brings a great big (portable) swimming pool with him. They (mother, father, boy, girl) swim and have fun.

K: Two boys are playing. One is scared of many things, such as making friends and the water. He tells his parents how he feels. They send him to a person who likes children and tries to help them. There are drawings on the wall that show other children come there. (Cord asks if this means that his parents want to get rid of him!)

C: (Violent) fight between boy and girl. "Help . . ." One that started it - the girl - got hurt.

I ask Cord if my last story made him mad. "No." Then why, I ask, did they fight so hard? Was he mad that he would be left by his parents? Was that why he was crying for help? "Yes." He won't be left; there will be someone here as long as he needs them. It's time to leave and he wants to wet the table top. This is not permitted. His anger at having to leave is interpreted.

83

C: Family members (not babies) are swimming. "Help, da da," cries baby, as it falls into the water. "Wa wa . . ." Whole family swims over to save baby. They dry him and send for doctor. Doctor takes care of him.

K: Doctor ministers to baby.

- C: Children are going on vacation. They leave a sitter with baby. They take big dives into the water. Girl sinks. "Help . . ." Mother calls them for bed, and boy explains to her that his sister drowned.
- K: Children are playing in the water. Boy starts to hit his sister, but she is not going to take this punishment from him.
- C: Boy continues to hit and then crush girl. She is nearly dead. Mother, seeing the condition of her little girl starts to cry. Mother asks father if he will buy a boat, so if anyone sinks, they can be saved.
- K: Girl talks to father about getting a boat. He buys a boat, but it leaks. She tells her brother, since the boat won't save her from sinking, the problem can be averted if he stops hitting her.
- C: Boy and girl are swimming. Girl hurts herself in the water. She comes out, then dives in again. She and boy both come out of water.
- K: Girl will leave boy - her best friend - because she is going into a higher grade than he. Boy gets so mad he would like to hit her, but is able to control his feelings.
- C: Boy "has to think" for a minute. Boy and girl are in different classes. "I'd like to beat her up if she was the last girl in the world." (Why?, I ask.) Because she wants to go away from me.
- K: Girl is going to leave boy. Boy cries because he is so sad. He wants to be a baby again. (I talk "baby talk.") Girl hugs him.

C: It's Christmas and father brings home a small tree. See which one gets it first, boy or girl. They fight over it and boy gets it. Girl is very angry; boy is too. Aggressive talk back and forth, e.g., "I'd always like to punch you if you did something bad."

K: Boy and girl are seated at the table. Mother serves girl first. Boy is angry. It is hard for boy to wait or be second. Boy has some problems. (Cord: "Everyone has problems.") We'll take him to somebody who helps him with problems. Boy agrees.

Eighty-fourth hour. The following week Cord can not be here for his session. The week after, rather than continue the storytelling with dolls, he spends most of the time trying to stuff the dolls down the drain (though they're actually too big to fit).

85

The doll activity begins about midway in the hour.

C: Babies are playing in the crib. Having fun. (Suddenly) they're fighting (crushing) each other with the weight of their bodies, as they roll on the ground. Both are badly hurt.

K: Boy and girl are playing. Boy picks a fight with girl, but suddenly stops, thinking the fight is "silly," because he's really mad at mother.

C: Babies play paddy-cake. Game gets aggressive. They end up fighting (crushing) each other. Children come to see what's going on.

K: Boy is angry with mother because she won't give him just what he likes. Uncle tells boy that being angry with someone whom you are close to is not unusual. In fact, no arguments would be almost unheard of. (Cord must immediately have a lollipop.)

Eighty-sixth hour. Although he avoids the doll activity, Cord describes for the first time (with angry affect) several incidents in which his mother forbids him simple pleasures. Just before meeting her in the waiting room, he grabs a lollipop with unusual chilliness, as if to be suddenly aware for the first time of his own legacy (This is mine!). In the waiting room, he gives his mother a rough time.

K: Whom would he bring with him on a vacation?

C: Parents, kids, uncle, but not babies, are diving off a gigantic diving board. (Cord suddenly stops his activity and looks at me.) Someone in the water is feeling sick. "Ene mene mine mo." It's mother who is sick, but the others don't know it. She hasn't been in swimming for a long time. They all go out of the pool. "I can't think of a story."

K: Boy kisses his "mommy" and tells her how much he loves her, and would never trade her in for another mother. Girl, who is angry with mother, says the opposite of boy.

C: "Help . . ." (With seeming expression of glee) as boy and girl are hitting each other. "That will fix her" for trading in her mother for another one . . . "gets me mad." "She starts fighting with me . . . I

have to sock her." (Actually, the boy is more the aggressor.) He socks her hard, knocking her down.

K: Girl gets angry with boy, but finds he is a scapegoat for her angry feelings with mother.

C: I can't think of a story.

K: Girl is very angry with mother, but can't seem to tell her. (Cord asks, "Why is it when you're angry, you're angry?") Girl gets up the courage to tell her mother, who says she's aware of her daughter's feelings toward her. Both agree to try to work it out. (Cord wants to know how to go about working it out.) After they talk about their mutual dislikes, they're less angry with each other. Mother explains that there's more than one chance for a fresh start.

C: There's a wading pool, and babies are in it. Mother looks in the crib for them. Finally finds them in the wading pool. She takes them out. "Naughty babies." "Knocks them in the water." Spanks them (lightly) in the water with the back of her hand. Then babies "are going to do something." As mother is hanging up the clothes on the line, babies push her into the water. They're so happy, they're jumping up and down.

K: (Cord wants me to give an ending to my last story.) Girl and babies know they're not angry with each other, but are with mother, and they want to find out why. (Cord insists I tell him why.)

- K: (Cord again asks me for an ending to last week's story.) Boy cries. Uncle asks him why he's crying. Boy doesn't know why. Uncle suggests it might have something to do with the way he's been feeling about mother - angry feelings toward her. Boy responds by kicking girl, who is standing next to him. Like uncle, she also notices that boy has been angry with mother. Boy thinks for a while. He tells uncle he guesses he is mad at mother, but doesn't know what to do about it. Uncle asks if he can help. (Cord again insists on knowing the "end" of the story.)
- C: Babies are fighting. "No, not that story." After a long hesitation (I say: "Don't be afraid."), family (without babies) go in the pool. "I can't think of different parts; can you finish it?" (It's his story to finish, I tell him.) After some more insisting that he can't finish the story and asking that I do it, he finally continues. Girl and little boy (baby doll) fight against big boy (boy doll). Girl suddenly stops fighting and says that it's "just not good to fight anymore." Girl asks boy if he knows why they're fighting. Boy doesn't know why, but he "just has to fight." Uncle doesn't see them; they're too far away from him. Boy and girl want to fight, and do so when mother and father don't see them. (I ask, Why?) Mother and father might get mad. At last the fight is ending (either children are too tired to continue or they end it).

K: Boy is afraid of being drowned, crushed, and hurt. Uncle, who is a doctor, tries to arrest boy's fears. (Cord wants to know how boy and girl "get along," and then asks a barrage of similar question.) I demonstrate through the dolls, how in a period of a year or two, boy learns to get along better, as he begins to realize that other children want to be his friends. (Quite suddenly, Cord tries to remove the man doll's clothes, remarking that he looks like a girl. He says that he wants to see what a girl looks like without clothes. He becomes silly and probably quite frightened. When time is up, he puts up a very stiff resistance to leaving.)

For the next 12 sessions, Cord discontinues the doll stories.

Eighty-ninth hour. Cord openly complains that whatever he asks for from mother is denied him, e.g., she doesn't bring him "ice water" when he wants it. His needs for indulgence seem unlimited. I comment to the effect that babies are dependent on their mothers and expect immediate gratification from them, whereas older children are more independent and can wait longer for things. Following my comments, he enacts a furious fight between the boy doll and one of my pipe-cleaners, ending in the pipe-cleaner getting "killed." Cord's anger seems to be cumulative, and I decide to stop it. He then fills the sink, dropping his lollipop into the water. When I won't give him a fresh sucker, he tries to make a "flood," which I do not permit. After trying to undress the female doll, and commenting on her breasts, he throws a ball around rather wildly. Eventually, he is able to have a (controlled) catch with me. But at the end of the hour, he threatens to drink all the water in the sink, to delay his departure.

Nintietth hour. Cord asks many questions about sex, and much of the time is devoted to "sex education." One of the questions which concerns him is if women have penises.

Ninety-first hour. Cord builds a house with toy blocks. Each side must be painstakingly identical. At the end of the hour he makes an issue about taking a cap gun and extra candy home.

Ninety-second hour. At the start of the hour he suddenly asks why he is coming here (we talked about it before in earlier meetings), but just as suddenly changes the subject. He then relates how he gets even with mother when she gets angry with him. This insight into his relationship with his mother is beautifully demonstrated with me, as he has a tantrum when I tell him the time is nearly up. (I usually try to prepare him a few minutes in advance of the end of the hour.) He balks and acts very silly. I give him the chance to walk out himself, but I must eventually carry him out. Once in the waiting area, he gives his mother a kick. Her expression is one of astonishment. I don't let this pass without saying to him, with his mother present, that as of this moment, he is angry with me, not his mother. Cord's response is one of apparent guilt, as he asks his mother to hit him, which effectively takes the sting out of her mounting anger.

Ninety-third hour. For the first time Cord is able to leave the building with me to go shopping. Previously, fear of separation from mother was too anxiety-producing to allow such a move on his part. We go to the corner candy-toy store. As is common with his mother, he consistently picks out (expensive) toys which he knows I will not buy him. At the same time, he keeps up a steady barrage of questions as to why I won't get him

this one and that one. Cord's maneuvers are quite successful in wearing me down. As we leave the store, he threatens to run back there, "sneak in," and get what he wants. Although he is quite trying, Cord seems able to express his anger more directly at me, without as much fear of his destructiveness or of being destroyed. At the same time, in my not allowing complete freedom of impulses, I provide him with a model from which to find his own controls.

Ninety-fourth hour. Cord plans to work on an airplane model which we bought last week on our trip to the store. He warns me that if another boy upsets his model he will surely kill him with a knife. He asks me to read the instructions and put the model together, which I refuse to do. I remind him how well he works on his own, with some effort on his part. I point out that if I put it together I wouldn't leave anything for him to do, and he wouldn't like that.

Ninety-fifth hour. As he runs into some difficulty with his model, he begins to whine and seems on the verge of tears (I will only help when I feel it is too difficult for him). I ask him if he remembers how easily the baby (in doll play) cried. Cord says he is trying not to cry, and I commend him for being able to stop himself.

Ninety-sixth hour. He becomes quite frustrated and impatient as glue sticks to his fingers, and he is unable to manipulate the parts of the model. At this point, I ask if he can perhaps find a better alternative. Eventually, with my help, he discovers that by wiping the glue off his fingers, he can proceed with his model with less difficulty. A point is made that one difference between a baby and a child is that a child depends more on his own resources.

Ninety-seventh and ninety-eighth hours. He abandons the model for a crashmobile (a toy car that falls apart when it crashes, and can be simply reassembled), which I bring him for the first time. He has a tantrum because I will not let him take it home. I reassure him that it will be here each week if he wants to play with it. Apparently not satisfied with my explanation, he fills the sink with water, and tries to jam the babies down the drain, because they are a "nuisance." I ask him if he thinks I can still like him even if I don't let him keep the crashmobile. My question goes unanswered. Meanwhile, he tries to bargain with me - to keep it just for one week, just for a day! and so on.

Ninety-ninth hour. Cord returns to model building. He continues to be angry when I don't help, purposely glutting parts with glue. (Both parents, particularly his mother, become upset at such deliberate wastefulness. He is very adept at exploiting the soft spots of others.)

One hundredth hour. Cord is expressing himself with more freedom, but at the same time is more provocative. He comes into the playroom before his time. When I offer to help him with a difficult part of his model, he gets furious with me. He will usually try to delay leaving by gluing "just one more piece." This time I say that I think he can stop when it's time, even though it may be difficult. He is able to stop, and I praise him for his grownup behavior.

One hundred first hour. He finishes his model, and he seems quite pleased with himself.

C: Company is coming. Mother is setting the table (he uses a small box cover for a table). "I got my own ideas" (changes to a larger box cover). Mother is putting soda in the cups. Father is at work. Uncle is coming to visit. Boy is waiting outside for guests to arrive. Uncle drives up in his car. "Br rur . . ." (uses play car). He is a fast driver. They all sit to eat. (Father never comes home.) Mother feeds baby at the play pen. Mother serves the next course, now the soda. She puts food in the oven; it's cooking. Boy asks mother if he can have more to eat. She pours him more (apparently soda). Girl takes more. Visiting girl knocks down boy's toys. They fight (a short fight). Cord insists that I continue his story. He wants to know how to handle the situation with the girl.

Time is up before I can tell a story. Cord is relying less on doll activity for self-expression. In the next fourteen sessions he did not make use of the doll material.

One hundred third to one hundred sixth hour. Cord vigorously acts out his anger at having to leave the toy store. He tries to take a ball, and when that doesn't work, lays down on the floor. I decide to role-play with him about the ending of sessions. In contrast to earlier sessions, he is now able to role-play, and even delights in it. Acting out different parts in relation to the ending time seems to have a calming effect for several subsequent sessions.

One hundred seventh hour. There is quite a departure from the previous sessions, because for the first time I am able to sit down and talk with

Cord in a related and more mature fashion. During part of the session we role-play. He pretends to be the owner of a "soda and drinking fountain." He "can't make drinks by magic" (I think he means that he has a limited supply), and he won't let me take things home, because other children come here to play, and would also like the benefits of the toys. We drink a coke together. When time is up, he is able to leave without creating a fuss or making demands. He tells me that he "was angry" in the past because I didn't give him what he wanted. As he is leaving, he again asks why he comes here.

One hundred eighth hour. At the start of the hour I ask how he felt about the previous session. He says it was fun. I agree. We role-play again. I play the part of a child, in a whining voice often characteristic of Cord's, who wants a new toy everytime I come here. He gets a big kick out of this form of play. When time to leave, he does not seem especially upset, although he firmly states that he wants the chess pieces in the same order (we were in the midst of a game) when he returns next week.

One hundred ninth to one hundred eleventh hour. Cord returns to testing my willingness to accept his almost limitless demands. At one point, after not getting his way, he spits on the floor. I tell him that he will have to leave early if he does that again. He manages to recover his composure (and I mine) before it's time to leave.

One hundred twelfth to one hundred sixteenth hour. Today his father brings Cord to the clinic, which could account for the fact that he seems a bit calmer than usual. While working on a model, he shows strides in being able to shift sets instead of becoming fixated and easily frustrated.

In the following session, when he thinks he might become upset, he calls on himself for "patience, patience." He is still having difficulty leaving when time is up. This problem is approached through role-playing and discussions, well before he is due to leave.

117

C: Babies are wrapped in blankets (paper towels). Mother is holding them. Boy and girl want to hold them. "No they don't say that." "Can we give them (babies) a horseback ride (on the children's backs)?" Babies are on the children's backs. Babies start to cry. "Wa wa . . ." Boy: "Don't cry babies." "What can we do, sis?" Girl: "Maybe we can get them some milk." They get milk out of the refrigerator. When they return, babies are fighting (hitting each other). (I ask, why?) They were afraid of the piggy-back ride. Baby falls into little cup and starts to cry. "Wa wa . . ." "No, he falls into a big thing (sink with deep water) . . . no, he doesn't." (Finally) he falls in toilet. (I ask him what the baby is afraid of.) Cord looks for other baby (bigger baby). (I ask how baby in the toilet feels.) "He cries very much." (Cord glances suspiciously while I take notes.) "Better tell mommy about this (baby in the toilet)." Mother and boy take baby out of the toilet.

118

C: Two babies are wrapped together in a blanket (paper towel). They fall in the water and drown.

K: (Instead of two babies) a baby and mother are wrapped together and are fighting. They stop fighting.

C: Baby and mother are wrapped together. They fight; (instead of dying) they are hurt "a little."

K: I ask Cord what it is he wants to find out. (Cord: How they can stop fighting.)

C: Babies are wrapped together. They fight, but parents stop them from fighting.

119

C: Boy and girl are walking home from school. Boy starts fighting (hitting) girl.

K: I substitute mother for girl. (Cord: "I'm not mad at my mother.")

One hundred twentieth to one hundred twenty-sixth hour. Cord is angry with me for answering the telephone. Later he recovers and can accept working together to build a play house. In the following session he asks directly - not through dolls - how he can stop fighting with children.

During the next few sessions Cord plays pool. I bought a miniature pool table thinking it might be helpful for developing patience and skills, and in acquainting him with game rules in general. Success in these areas could contribute favorably to his self-confidence and to better peer relationships. During pool play he is less contankerous than usual, and seems to relate to me on a closer level. Hopefully, it's demonstrated

that games do not always end in fights, and can in fact be fun. Cord is becoming more sports conscious, possibly due to my interest in sports, but also because he has become more aware of his peers, and has improved his physical coordination.

One hundred twenty-seventh hour. Cord shows amazing patience in pool shooting, especially since he is not yet adept at getting the balls in the pockets. Also, he is beginning to show more definite signs of wanting to compete with me. Along with more mature indications, there are residuals of immature and primitive behavior, such as the idea in pool, that if he shuts his eyes and aims in the middle, a ball will somehow go in. Cord relates that his report card shows that his grades have improved.

One hundred twenty-eighth to one hundred thirty-first hour. Cord asks if I have ever gotten "mad" at him. I tell him I have, such as the time in the store, or when he once tried to bust down the door with his foot. He talks about some of the times he has been angry with me too. The fact that I am here each week conveys the inescapable fact that two people can at times be angry with each other without their relationship being a destructive one.

132

C: Boy wants a soda but mother won't buy him one. "That makes me mad."

K: Boy wants a soda but mother won't buy it for him so he feels angry.

Uncle explains to boy that part of growing up is being able to "take a no" - just like ending a session. Besides, if boy can be easier on mother, she will be easier on him.

C: Boy wakes up, finds some toys broken. For breaking his toys, boy "beats up" sister, finally killing her.

K: Mother breaks boy's toy. He is angry and asks her to replace it. (I try to convey that mother is trying to change too.) She apologizes, indicating that she didn't do it on purpose. She replaces the broken toy.

One hundred thirty-third to one hundred thirty-fifth hour. Cord's whole demeanor seems healthier. Instead of a selfless, vacuous, whining boy, I feel there is now much more substance to him. He brings up the topic of physical changes in boys and girls, using the dolls to illustrate. He remarks that he knows about his mother's "breast operation," and he says he doesn't like it. I ask why, but he avoids my question.

136

C: Boy gets up in the morning. He goes to the refrigerator, but there is "never enough soda" (uttered with disgust). Finally, he decides to go to China, where he is "boss" of a hotel. He asks "the soda man" in China for all the soda in China. The man explains (moderation) he can have some, but not all the soda in China.

One hundred thirty-seventh hour. I ask Cord to put away games he plays with. He counters with "Why should I? . . . they're yours."

One hundred thirty-eighth to one hundred thirty-ninth hour. A rarity - he cooperates with mother in washing hands at the end of the session. (Mrs. R. is quite ritualistic about cleanliness.) He even helps a little

to put the playroom in order. Cord feels he has "no problems," though, "in the past," he acknowledges he had problems in making models.

140

C: Boy is angry at having to wait to come into the playroom (boy's remarks are directed at therapist doll). (I put an arm around Cord, which he permits for only a short moment. It's interesting that he continually complains through his behavior, of not being loved, yet it's difficult for him to accept warmth and friendship, which probably is related to the fact that closeness for him has a connotation other than one of trust.)

One hundred forty-first hour. Cord plays pool. If he can't make a shot he says he will kill himself. At the same time it is very difficult for him to accept instruction. He helps put away the pool material, though. (Mrs. R. is able to make a compromise - to leave handwashing up to Cord, rather than insist on it.)

One hundred forty-second hour. Cord would like a new toy every session, but this time his request is more in the realm of a wish than an angry demand. He works on a model, does well, but gets a little disgusted when a difficult part doesn't work out easily.

143

C: Boy and mother are together (enclosed in one hand). Cord drops them many times (as though to separate them). Each time, boy goes some place (away from mother) on his own.

One hundred forty-fourth hour. Cord calls me by my first name for the first time, because he says that he "knows me better."

One hundred forty-fifth hour. I teach Cord how to catch, throw, and bat a ball in a nearby open-play area. He can accept my help, but with some difficulty. Back in the playroom, though admitting he would like to stay longer, he can help put things in order. Incidentally, I did not insist on his picking up after play until I felt he had a positive relationship with me, and was ready to take such responsibility. My decision was based on the premise that a sense of responsibility is best acquired under willing conditions and not under duress.

One hundred forty-sixth and one hundred forty-seventh hours. We play one-a-cat (a variety of baseball with two bases). Cord is a hard loser. I try to explain that since I am older, and have played longer, that I am naturally more skilled than he; but with practice, he should get better. He is becoming increasingly interested in competitive games, and in testing his own strength.

He complains of children calling him names in school. "It makes me so mad, I'd like to shoot them with a bean shooter," he says, but he does not want to talk about his relationships with these children.

One hundred forty-eighth hour. Today is Cord's tenth birthday. I take him out for a soda treat.

One hundred forty-ninth to one hundred fifty-fourth hour. Cord will have his first experience at a summer camp away from home. I wonder how he feels about stopping therapy. In the final session, he does not seem especially bothered about leaving. In fact, he says that he is tired of

coming here. It is difficult to tell if he is reflecting a more grownup attitude, where separation is not the boggy it was, or if he is repeating his parents' wishes to terminate. In any event, whether it is their decision or his, there appears to have been a progressive shift in identification with his father, through a more intimate association with him, which implies less need for a meaningful relationship with the therapist. Positive changes have also occurred between Cord and his mother, but have been less demonstrable than with his father; he still asks from time to time if she loves him.

Summary of Sessions with Parents as They Focus on the Child

The centered numbers correspond with Cord's session numbers. Thus, "73-1" directly follows Cord's 73rd session.

73-1

Mrs. R.: Cord has recently learned to bathe himself and tie his own shoes.

76-1

Mr. and Mrs. R.: Cord's parents note the following changes in their son: He wants to be first to arrive in school, which is more pleasant than former struggles around getting him ready in the morning. He allows his father to put his arm around him, whereas before this time he would not let Mr. R. even touch him. In general, he is not as argumentative and does not seem as angry. He still asks his mother repeatedly, but not as frequently as in the past, questions with seemingly obvious answers, such as: Is she wearing a white blouse, when she is obviously wearing one. He is less isolated, plays more with children, and has expanded his territory

of play to include the next block. Lately, after being spanked by Mrs. R., Cord will hit himself.

80-1

Mrs. R.: Although Mrs. R. sees improvement with Cord, she still finds him very difficult to take. She becomes locked in a battle of wills with him. If she is not trying to force him to yield to her rigid expectations, she is taking hold of the provocative bait that he dangles in front of her.

84-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. describes with considerable anguish how Cord interferes with her sanctified routines. When she gives to him, it is primarily to get him "off her back." As a member of the household, she expects him to assume responsibility and behave as another adult. Since he behaves like a child, and a difficult one at that, he is more a nuisance than a blessing. Mrs. R. feels she has borne a heavy burden with him all these years. Most mothers in her position, she believes, would have institutionalized Cord when he was three years old. She would like me to confirm that Cord's condition is constitutionally based, so that she can unburden herself of the guilt she feels surrounding her relationship with him. She also is beginning to press me for specific answers, as though my answers could dispel the events which have taken so long to develop and consolidate.

89-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. is happier because for the first time Cord is asking his father if he loves him. He also has become more interested in knowing his father's whereabouts. When Mrs. R. says "no" to Cord, he is not as intractable as before. He even says now, "that sounds reasonable."

94-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. continues to press for specific answers from me in respect to dealing with Cord. (Although there are instances in which issuing direct advice to a client or patient can be instructive, in many cases it seems inadmissible. For one thing, it fosters a continued dependency on the therapist, instead of on the client's capacity to decide his or her own future. In its more naive form, it ignores or averts the problems of tangled relationships in their historical perspective, and presumes that matters of longstanding can be done away with simply with words of advice.) If direct advice was given to Mrs. R., and it proved unsuccessful, she would have ready ammunition for believing that Cord was a birth anomaly, and that her own role with him had little or nothing to do with his present condition.

97-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. reveals resentment toward Mr. R., who at times she feels is like her second child. She objects to both their unceasing demands for her mothering. But her anger turns to guilt as she feels she is not being a "good" mother. At the end of a day she holds Cord - as she feels a worthy mother should - but can feel no love for him during this act.

99-1

Mrs. R.: She is impressed with Summerhill, a book about the liberal education of children. But she is upset and angry that she can not apply its laissez faire philosophy with Cord, whereas Mr. R. is able to do so with some success. For example, she can not stand for Cord to leave a therapy session with dirty hands. Also, she must look through his homework several times to make sure he has done it all. Her strong insistence that he have clean hands, and that he do his homework, is more than matched by Cord's determination not to have clean hands, and not to do his homework. Cord's petulant behavior with his mother can be better understood here in the context of his struggle for a sense of separateness from her.

102-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R.'s angry feelings seem to be more available to her. The knitted brow and the guilty ringing of hands are not as characteristic as before. Today Mrs. R. feels like a "tigress," though she is not without a sense of humor. She feels better after "unloading" (her anger). Yet, she can not allow herself unqualified resentment, or to leave a session feeling angry. She must always offset a "bad" feeling with a "good" one. For example, after expressing multitudes of indignation for Cord, she suddenly neutralizes these feelings with a description of how he has learned to ride a bike. It is difficult for her to be plainly angry or plainly happy; either state is guilt-producing.

103-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. has "had it" so far as Cord is concerned. She has decided to send him away (where, she does not say) unless he shows drastic improvement by the summer (several months away). She implies blame to me and Cord, since she has "done all" she can. There is again a strong suggestion of martyrdom (No one else would have put up with what she has!), which helps her defray responsibility in regard to her son. Nonetheless, in deference to Mrs. R., there is the overwhelming difficulty which Cord presents for her.

104-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. announces she is going to stop coming here. She doesn't feel that she and Cord have been helped enough. Toward the end of the hour she weeps, while revealing that she has been telling Cord she hates him and wants to be rid of him. I support her feelings, though not necessarily her words to Cord. In effect, she is being more consistent in her expression of emotions to Cord, which is perhaps preferable to the inconsistency of behaving as if she loves him, which the child readily senses. The expression of her present hostile feelings might be a necessary prelude to working out some kind of meeting ground in her relationship with her son.

Mrs. R. seems to view her anger as having a boomerang effect. She says that if she "really gets angry" she will have a heart attack. Both her parents have had heart attacks, her husband a bleeding ulcer, and her sister died from cancer.

106-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. is angry with me for "spinning a (magic) web" to get her to continue counseling. She reveals with difficulty that the things that annoy her so much about Cord are many of the same things she secretly wished to do as a child, but did not dare. Mrs. R. seems to need considerable reassurance and support at this time, as revealed for example, in her asking several times if she is "doing better."

108-1

Mrs. R.: She talks about her need to please her mother-in-law and Mr. R., because she is afraid they might "talk back." With more awareness of her feelings and actions, she seems better able to deal with Cord. Cord, in turn, seems to be responding to her changes by being less of a problem to manage.

One year ago Mrs. R. had a breast removed. A biopsy taken after the operation revealed a nonmalignant condition. However, Mrs. R. spends a great deal of her time worrying about cancer. She attributes the need for the operation in the first place to her aggravation with Cord.

109-1

Mrs. P.: Mrs. R. again feels like giving up on Cord. He is "just miserable to have around." He asks if he can go to the bathroom, not once, but over and over again until he "drives me crazy." The other day Mr. R. slapped Cord for his "atrocious" table manners, but apologized to him afterwards.

111-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. is irritated with Mr. R. for not punishing Cord after he hit another child with a rock. Mr. R. chose to have an "understanding" talk with the boy.

113-1

Mrs. R.: While conflict with Cord has slackened, it has increased with Mr. R. and Mrs. R.'s mother-in-law. Mrs. R. was very angry with Mr. R. for telling her mother that Cord is being brought up the same way Mrs. R.'s mother brought her up. Mrs. R. has recently been quite protective of her mother, calling her at least twice a day, because she has a "bad heart." (Actually, her mother has purportedly had the same condition for many years.) A parallel between Mrs. R.'s dependency on her mother, and Cord's indivisibility with Mrs. R. becomes more apparent, especially as Mrs. R.'s hostile feelings imply the possibility of an intolerable separation from her mother. In contrast to a picture of congeniality between her parents, she now recalls that they did not get along well, and that she dreaded their fights.

115-1

Mrs. R.: Staff members at a clinic conference decided that Mrs. R. should be seen weekly, instead of biweekly. Due to the severity of Cord's problems, the staff felt that Mrs. R. should be involved on a more intensive basis, and perhaps Mr. R. should be seen as well, so that a joint effort could be made to help the boy to a healthier adjustment. This decision was based on the belief, in agreement with most workers in the field, that a child's continued improvement is based on the progress of his parents.

Mrs. R. is unhappy about this proposal, and she threatens again to terminate.

116-1

Mr. R.: Mr. R. also disapproves of the clinic's recommendation. He feels that Mrs. R. is under too much strain to be seen more often than every other week. A compromise solution is finally arrived at where Mr. and Mrs. R. will have alternate appointments.

117-1

Mrs. R.: Although Cord's regular hour, Mrs. R. wants a minute to speak with me. She apologizes for the "way" she spoke last time. She again asks to be seen on Friday or Saturday, although I have told her several times before that I do not work at the clinic on either day. She gives me a "rough" time, and I tell her so. Perhaps my confronting remarks have a salutary effect, because after having a good cry, she expresses the desire to get some help for herself. I suggest she give herself some time to think about it.

119-1

Mrs. R.: She will continue coming to the clinic, but in the meantime would like to get a psychiatrist's opinion in regard to her and Cord's need for treatment. (The clinic was staffed with psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers.) If she could, she would send Cord, but not come herself. To assume responsibility as a mother is difficult for Mrs. R. when she has not received sufficient mothering herself as a child.

121-1

Mr. R.: Mr. R. does not seem particularly motivated to come for help for himself. He seems to be here mainly to give Mrs. R. an opportunity to cut down on her involvement. Furthermore, I have the impression that Mr. R. is afraid of being criticized about his relationship with Cord. He seems overly defensive in his efforts to impress me with his positive feelings for children, and in his need to block off any attempt by me to ask questions. As I demonstrate a willingness to let him talk, and support him in his efforts to get closer to Cord, he shows some tendency to be less defensive.

Although Mr. R. seems to have more kindred feelings toward Cord than Mrs. R., like her, he tends to view the boy as a troublesome wedge between him and his wife. An angry remark by Cord to his mother, to the effect that she will be dead in twenty-four hours, enraged Mr. R. so that he slapped Cord in the face. Nevertheless, Mr. R. has recently been making attempts to become more involved with his son and to understand him better.

122-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. says she feels under less pressure when coming here only every other week. She feels more adept now at handling potentially difficult situations with Cord. She attributes her "new look" to being more outspoken, saying "no" when she feels it is called for, and feeling less guilty about her emergence. For example, she has been speaking to Mr. R. about taking more of a role around the house, particularly with Cord. Cord seems to be responding in kind to Mrs. R. The other day he told her that if she only wore makeup, she could be a movie star. In general, she reports

that Cord is becoming more interested in the world outside the confines of his home.

125-1

Mr. R.: Mr. R. is trying hard to get closer to his son. He attributes changes for the better in Cord to his improved handling of the boy, and to Cord's having "outgrown the past (physiologically)." It is interesting that when either parent relates well with Cord, the other parent is in conflict with him. We try to explore the difficulties in sharing Cord at the same time. We also discuss Mr. R.'s role in helping Mrs. R. to curb her rigid posture with Cord by assuming more leadership in the home.

127-1

Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. feels more hopeful about Cord. She sees him as a "fresh kid," who at least can be reasoned with, instead of an odd and unreachable child. He has his own personality now - which includes being willful, she says. We talk about easing her insistence that he must help around the house, until he is ready to do so. We explore ways of inciting Cord's interest in the world around him - least of all by being heavy-handed about providing such stimulation.

131-1

Mrs. R.: She tears Cord down, finding many of the qualities in him which she dislikes in herself.

133-1

Mr. R.: Mr. R. is tear-filled over Cord's becoming a "real boy." Many changes are noted. There was a time when Cord would not eat any food Mr. R. touched, nor would he touch Mr. R., or allow his father to touch him. This week marked the first time Cord took his father's arm and put it around him.

135-1

Mrs. R.: Now that she does not think of Cord as being peculiar, Mrs. R. says with dismay that she has more time to worry about herself. If only she could allow herself some real pleasure with Cord. I stress the healthy, the spunky aspects of Cord. Whereas he is a "fighter," she was unable to fight back as a child. We also discuss ways and means of anticipating, and thus heading off, provocative "traps" which Cord sets for her, and ones she sets for him.

150-1

Mr. and Mrs. R.: Mrs. R. is eager for Cord to go to summer camp in a few weeks so she can be rid of him. At this moment she sees him as a "miserable" child. Once again, Cord's actions do not mesh with her ideals of a spotless, soundproof, and orderly household. Mr. R. is also inconsistent in his relationship to Cord, but seems to be becoming less so.

153-1

Mr. R.: Mr. R. believes that the approaching summer vacation marks a good time for his son (and family) to stop treatment. Contributing to his belief are the many significant changes he finds in Cord (e.g., he

is making more friends, and is beginning to invite them to the house), and his increasingly successful role as a father, which he believes preempts the necessity for Cord to continue therapy.

Summary of School Progress

The numbers preceding each paragraph correspond with Cord's sessions.

(12-1) Cord's teacher reports that children are accepting him better. He has become less withdrawn, yet more of a behavior problem. (This might be expected in terms of freer expression of feelings in therapy.)

(38-1) A new teacher states that Cord is holding his own in his studies, but she finds him to be stimulus-bound, and only able to work when instructions are explicitly layed out for him. Her report contradicts the previous one in respect to his peer relationships. She indicates that his behavior is at times bizarre, and that his classmates laugh at him. According to her, he has no friends in class.

(59-1) Mrs. R. mentions that every chance Cord gets, he has been fighting with a girl in class. As a result, the teacher has threatened to place him in a different class.

(76-1) Cord's parents report that he looks forward to school, in contrast to past struggles to get him ready in the mornings.

(79-1) Another new teacher states that Cord gets along fairly well in class. In fact, she says that she was not aware that anything was "wrong" with him. She seems to like Cord quite well, and apparently is both firm and understanding with him.

(128-1) Cord received some of the following comments on his report card, which represents an improvement over previous ones:

Social behavior. Behavior on lines is improving and so is his ability to wait his turn. He needs to learn to be more considerate of the rights of others.

Work and study habits. Cord has improved in starting his work more promptly. He needs to respond better to signals, follow directions, and work and play well with others.

Language Arts. Reading comprehension is very good. He takes part in class discussions. In writing, he has good ideas which are well expressed.

Social Studies. He does not do his assignments promptly or carefully.

Mathematics. He shows good command of his number facts.

Science. He contributes to the science program.

(131-1) Mr. R. is quite pleased over Cord's ability to adjust to a more advanced class with "five times as much homework."